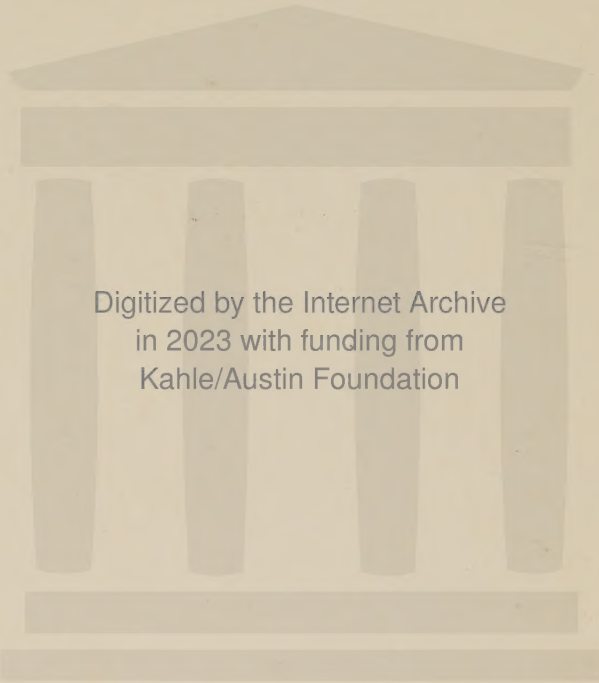


# THE CHRISTIAN AND WAR

(*An Appeal*)

*By*

M. F. McCUTCHEON, ALLAN P. SHATFORD  
W. A. GIFFORD, RICHARD ROBERTS  
W. D. REID, T. W. JONES



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“How to quench a lie  
With truth, and smite a foe upon the cheek  
With Christ’s most conquering kiss. Why, these are  
things  
Worth a great nation’s finding, to prove weak  
The ‘glorious arms’ of military kings.”

—Elizabeth Barrett Browning.



## Preface

THE following enquiry and appeal was begun by a committee, appointed by an association of Christian ministers. As the work advanced it seemed to the committee itself that, in the present state of the public mind, no unanimity on the question of war is likely to be reached by any considerable body of men, except after long delay and by compromising the truth concerning war. Delay seemed inadvisable, compromise impossible. It was better that a few, who had reached unanimity through study and conference, should assume responsibility before the public for the findings. The committee therefore asked, and was granted, liberty to finish its work in its own way.

The committee agreed at the outset that unity of thought and expression

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would be best achieved if one member of the group should make the original investigation, submit his findings for discussion and comparison, and commit to writing the consensus reached. Dr. Gifford was asked to do this work. He is therefore primarily responsible for the form of the appeal, and he assumes entire responsibility for the accuracy of quotations and statements of fact. All members of the group, however, have been serious students of the question of war; and all have participated in the conferences of the group, extending over many months. While it is inevitable that, in a document of such length, there should be minor questions of proportion and emphasis, concerning which members of the group would differ, nevertheless all concur in the view of war here taken, and the appeal is the appeal of all.

The members of the group, all resident in Montreal, are Rev. W. A. Gifford,

## P R E F A C E

Th.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in The United Theological College; Rev. T. W. Jones, B.D.; minister of Calvary Congregational Church; Rev. Miles McCutcheon, D.D., minister of First Baptist Church; Rev. W. D. Reid, D.D., minister of Stanley Presbyterian Church; Rev. Richard Roberts, D.D., minister of the American Presbyterian Church; and Rev. Canon A. P. Shatford, LL.D., rector of St. James the Apostle, Anglican. Of these Mr. Jones and Canon Shatford served with the Canadian army throughout most of the Great War, the former as a Captain in the Y.M.C.A. services, the latter as Major in the Chaplaincy services.





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those of other nations who are striving for the same ends.—To support such institutions as aim to substitute international courts for national courts, and the international conscience for national sentiment, in the settlement of international disputes.—To unite to make their Governments aware that they can never support another war, and that they must oppose with all their spiritual resources such wars as come when arbitration has been refused or the decision of the arbitrators rejected.—To set God above Caesar, conscience above the authority of the State, in the immediate presence of war.





## Introduction

VERY much has been written in recent years about war, how it comes, how it is carried on, what it costs, what are the ultimate results. And a considerable body of literature is devoted to showing that the very fact of war, after nineteen Christian centuries, is deeply significant for any appraisal of Christianity and the Church. Those who are familiar with this literature may be impatient of another book on war. They will say, "We have heard more than enough of the causes of war, the methods of war, the failure of the Church, and what not; what we want is someone to show us the way out." And so we reply that precisely that is what we are anxious to do. It is true that in this appeal we traverse some ground with which the

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plaintiffs are already too familiar; but we have done so only because we could not assume that all our readers have made the journey. Let those who have done so omit Chapters I, II, and VI. They will find in the rest what we most wish to say.

Our object is to present the Christian view of society, to judge war in the light of that view, to indicate ways of making the Christian view effective against war. A war-time inquiry throughout the British Army, directed by a representative group of British Christian leaders, disclosed that most soldiers seemed unaware that there is a Christian view of society. "One of the questions that we put . . . was what do the men think of the Kingdom of God? To this there has been practically no answer at all. The men of whom we are thinking do not seem to know anything about it. They do not seem to have any idea that Christianity

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has a gospel for all humanity, and looks out upon the Reign of God in human society!’ (*The Army and Religion*, p. 182). We maintain that little has happened since the War, to justify the faith that even Christian men and institutions know quite definitely what is the Christian view of society, and what it requires of us in the matter of war. We do wish to set men thinking about the Kingdom of God.

Judging war by the standards of the Kingdom of God, we can only declare it anti-Christian. Our position differs from a thorough pacifism only in this, that we distinguish between war and international police action. By the latter we mean international appeals to force, even to armed force, after judicial process before competent tribunals, controlled with reference to their decisions, and terminated in harmony therewith. The moral judgment of the world must be

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sought in advance, and accepted when given, if any future appeal to arms is to be justified.

There seems no adequate ground for hope that armed conflicts, in the form of international police action, can yet be dispensed with; though one may cherish the faith that in time the moral reprobation of the world, backed when necessary by international excommunication of the offending nation, will effect repentance without police action.

The signatories to this appeal are all Canadians, by birth or adoption. We all value the British connection. While believing that the days of all empires are numbered, we hope that the transformation of the British Empire into a commonwealth of free peoples, already so far advanced, will be completed without serious defections. We hope that nothing here written will seem ungenerous to Britain. We do believe that her diplomacy

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before the Great War was more scrupulous than that of Russia, less arrogant and blundering than that of Germany. We do believe that Anglo-Saxon soldiers will not stoop to the methods of at least some other nationals. But it is a greater spiritual achievement to become aware of one's own sins than to be aware of one's neighbours', and in the matter of future wars it will be distinctly more fruitful of good. We have had more than enough of pious declamation against German sin, and Russian sin—since Russia ceased to be our ally. Most of the illustrations of the evils of war herein submitted are drawn from British practice and precedent. They would have been drawn from Canadian practice and precedent, if that had been feasible.

The signatories are all ministers of the Gospel. We have not written either to reprobate or to justify the Church and her past. Forgetting the things which

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are behind, we would press on toward the goal—the abolition of war. We owe this to ourselves and our brother ministers, who are formally dedicated to the ends of the Kingdom of God. We owe it to the churches, that have set us apart to the prophetic office and given us exceptional opportunities both to know and to speak. We owe it especially to youth; for war is the sacrifice of the youth of the world to the incompetence and selfishness of the mature and the aged of the world. War is the final condemnation, the crowning shame, of corrupt, or selfish, or incompetent political and economic leadership; and it is chiefly youth that pays. As Christian ministers we would help Christian men and institutions to discharge their debt to youth.



# THE CHRISTIAN AND WAR

## CHAPTER I

### The Cost of War

"O shame to men! devil with devil damned  
Firm concord holds, men only disagree  
Of creatures rational, though under hope  
Of heavenly grace; and, God proclaiming peace,  
Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife  
Among themselves, and levy cruel wars,  
Wasting the earth, each other to destroy;  
As if (which might induce us to accord)  
Man had not hellish foes enow besides  
That day and night for his destruction wait."

—John Milton.

WE are filling out a decade of disenchantment, and of our disenchantment many men have made a book.<sup>1</sup> But very soon disenchantment will

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<sup>1</sup>Notably three volumes by Sir Philip Gibbs—*Now It Can be Told*, *More That Can be Told*, and *Ten Years After*—all published by Harpers. Also C. E. Montague, *Disenchantment*, Chatto & Windus.

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have become our normal mind, and we shall hardly know that things were ever different. Indeed our homes and schools are already filled with boys and girls who were not present at the supreme *débâcle* of history, and who will rush as blithely as their fathers did upon a worse *débâcle* of their own—unless we tell them the things that we have seen and heard, and help them to the inferences.

It is little more than a decade since our ancestral island home was palpitating with eagerness. "All the air was ringing with rousing assurances. France was to be saved, Belgium righted, freedom and civilization re-won, a sour, soiled, crooked old world to be rid of bullies and crooks and reclaimed for straightness, decency, good-nature, the ways of common men dealing with common men . . . That was the vision."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>C. E. Montague, *Disenchantment*, p. 3.

## THE COST OF WAR

And many men in many lands saw it, even as they did in Britain.

Strange things have happened since then. It is good that we can forget them, and well that we should imitate the fine reticence of those who saw most and say least. But one owes something to those who after him must conduct the business of life; and he is a strange man who, after an orgy of selling, will not take stock for his own sake also of the things that remain.

In pursuit of the vision ten millions fell in battle. Most, let us hope, fell asleep with merciful swiftness. Twenty millions were wounded; many halt in our streets and scream in our hospitals still. Six millions were "prisoners or missing." God knows how they fare, how they died. And all these were of the best physical manhood of the nations.<sup>3</sup> In France nine

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<sup>3</sup>The numbers of dead, wounded, and missing can never, of course, be certainly known. The estimate here given is that of General Tasker H. Bliss, in *What Really Happened at Paris*, p. 385.

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hundred thousand, in Italy five hundred thousand, in all Europe between six and nine millions of children were left fatherless. Their widowed mothers are five millions in number. Millions of people were forced by invasion to flee; two million Armenians walked out into the desert to death. One would require to sink a *Lusitania* every day for seventy years, to match the frightful human destruction of the Great War.<sup>4</sup>

The cost of the war in moral and spiritual impoverishment is less easily computed, but is clearly not less appalling. As ex-Premier Nitti of Italy said, "The losses in human life and property, great as they are, are small evils compared to the undermining of morals and the lowering of standards of culture and civilization." Expediency is the standard of conduct in war, and falsehood is there-

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<sup>4</sup>This graphic comparison in destructiveness is borrowed from Kirby Page.

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fore its native tongue. Every Government establishes a censorship and systematically deceives its own people. Propaganda at home magnifies and creates enemy atrocities, but suppresses evidence unfavourable to the home government and people; propaganda abroad maligns the enemy government, magnifies enemy reverses, and seeks thereby to undermine confidence. Captain Ferdinand Tuohy, of the British Secret Service, says: "All the trickery and subterfuge and war wisdom of the ages brought up to date, intensified and harnessed to every modern invention and device—such has been the latter-day intelligence . . . A Machiavelli, a Talleyrand or some other master schemer of the ages, come back to earth, would have thrilled to the amazing cunning and corruption of it all."<sup>5</sup>

On the field men come under new codes of honour, new standards of decency, a

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<sup>5</sup>*The Secret Corps*, pp. 2-4.

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new rule of life. "We all agree—with a certain demur from the Quakers—that one morality has to be practised in peace and another in war; that the same bodily act may be wrong in the one and right in the other. So, to be perfect, you need to have two gears to your morals, and drive on the one gear in war and the other in peace. While you are on the peace gear you must not even shoot a bird sitting. At the last stroke of some August midnight you clap on the war gear and thenceforth you may shoot a man sitting or sleeping or any way you can get him, provided you and he be soldiers on opposite sides."<sup>6</sup> There are many things that many soldiers will not do, but these restraints are not required of them by the ethics of war. And so there were men of all armies who shot ambulance men, sank ships without warning, starved civilian populations,

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<sup>6</sup>C. E. Montague, *Disenchantment*, p. 113.

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lent their minds to hatred and their bodies to uncleanness; and we are all reaping the whirlwind. For "war suspends the rules of moral obligation," as Edmund Burke saw, "and what is long suspended is in danger of being totally abrogated." After the War acts of violence increased in the cities and infidelity in the homes. Several times as many abandoned girls as in 1914 now ply their pitiful trade in the cities of Europe. The race is threatened with a corruption of blood from which all the diligence of the medical profession cannot save it. Every social sin that shamed us before the Great War is more rampant since; because the long welter of violence and lies, the loss of customary social restraints and supports, the fatalism bred by carnage, have combined to loosen all moral bonds.

To all this moral cost of the War must be added the increase in international



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suspicion and bitterness. The latest war was to be the last; it was indeed a "war to end war." Instead it scattered the seeds of future conflicts over all Europe, and parts of Africa and Asia. Prolonged comradeship in killing, it seems, does not create sure foundations of friendship even among allies. As early as 1917, with the war yet to win, French soldiers sneered at British and British at French, and both spoke derisively of the "Brav' Belges" and the "Portugeese." And soon after the Peace it was not the German menace on land and sea, but the French menace in the air, against which chiefly Britain was arming.

The situation is naturally worse between recent enemies. It is true that the combatant armies themselves could not keep up their hatreds. As early as the Christmas of 1914, Allied soldiers crossed No Man's Land to shake hands with the



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enemy. Orders had to be issued, and Divisions removed, to check fraternization. It was not so with civilian populations. Propaganda made sure that hate should not flag. And now the harvest of hate overwhelms us, and the seeds of future hate are being planted in the minds of the children. "Consider a little," says ex-Premier Nitti, 'how national hatreds are being fostered. I have made a small collection of the books which have been widely disseminated since the war in French and Belgian schools, and if one cares to see with what industry the cult of national hatred is being encouraged, one could read nothing more instructive. For instance, there is a book written by a French *directeur d'école* for the schools, in the form of a history of the Great War entitled, *Pour Notre France*. In it the Germans are described as hordes of savages, whose profession is war, who go about to despoil, to

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devastate, and to terrorize. There is a long series of statements made to kindle hate against them.”<sup>7</sup>

Out of fear comes hatred, and out of hatred fear, in a never-ending cycle of destruction. And both are being cultivated in the plastic mind of youth all over Europe, that reason and morality may go blindfold until our children's children. Millions of people are still homeless and other millions hungry; in some universities, those centres of intelligence and modest privilege, tuberculous students are as many as a third of all the students enrolled; in Vienna, once Europe's proudest capital, the standard of refinement has sunk, because of the economic cost of cleanliness; and yet at times since the War more men have been under arms in Europe than in 1913. And this in spite of the fact that the armies of the old Central Empires have almost

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<sup>7</sup>Francesco Nitti, *The Decadence of Europe*, p. xxvii.

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disappeared. France, threatened with national bankruptcy, has yet more men under arms than had Germany when all the chancellories of Europe were agitated about "German militarism."

All this hate and fear might have been mitigated somewhat by a just peace; but the Treaty of Versailles affronted the moral sense everywhere, even that of its framers. It began by repudiating the terms of the armistice; it ended by creating a dozen Alsace-Lorraines throughout Europe. For at the peace-table no man was free; all had to take account of secret covenants formed to secure victory and in disregard of geographical and ethnic boundaries. How maddening that one, who sat through all and played a premier role, should say long afterwards: "There is the annexation of Vilna by force; there is the annexation of Galicia by force, by violence, by the use of arms against the will of the popu-

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lation. Elsewhere you have the German and the Pole quarrelling over Silesia; the Russian and the Pole over doubtful boundaries; the Czech and the Magyar; the Serbian and the Bulgarian; the Russian and the Rumanian; the Rumanian and the Magyar. There is the age-long feud between Greek and Turk. All have an air of biding opportunity, all are armed ready for slaughter. Europe is a seething cauldron of international hates, with powerful men in command of the fuel stores feeding the flames and stoking the fires.”<sup>8</sup>

The material cost of the war has been carefully estimated at more than three hundred billions of dollars.<sup>9</sup> It cost every hour more than great cities spend in a year for their schools; it cost every

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<sup>8</sup>David Lloyd George, *Where Are We Going*, p. 38.

<sup>9</sup>This is the estimate of Professor E. L. Bogart, in *Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War*, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

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six hours as much as this continent spends annually for missions. The whole economic machinery of Europe, and much of that of America, was thrown into confusion by the war. No nation of Europe was self-sustaining, and international trade therefore flowed freely. The population of Europe, moreover, was one hundred millions more than could be supported within Europe. On the ability to manufacture and export depended their bread. With war came first the closing of frontiers and seas; then deprivation, then famine, then death to vast numbers.

No nation has wholly escaped. The material cost of the War is an almost insupportable burden on the back of humanity. The victors are only less afflicted than the vanquished; the nations whose lands were unravaged stagger only less than the rest. To Britain, the direct cost of the war, if her loans to her allies were recoverable, would still be one thou-

## THE CHRISTIAN AND WAR

sand dollars for every man, woman and child in her borders, while the indirect cost is almost as great. Her population is greater than in 1913, her trade a third less than it was. Many thousands of men are officially registered as unemployed, and many other thousands suffer to avoid registration. In agricultural England veterans are receiving twenty-five and thirty shillings a week, on which a single man may live but a family will barely escape starvation. In industrial England are strikes and political passion and class consciousness. The "homes for heroes" have not yet risen; and men who made "a world safe for democracy" are now "Bolshevik" miners, or Dundee rioters, or Sinn Feiners. As for the "old families" of England, "ten years after they poured out their blood and treasure without a grudge, without reservation, first in the field and last out of it, the old 'quality' of England or their younger

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sons are selling up their old houses to pay taxes which are extinguishing them as a class . . . On both sides there is bitterness, a sense of injustice, and utter disillusion with the results of victory.”<sup>10</sup>

France has covered her wounds and restored what may be restored of her priceless treasures. But her debt has doubled since the close of the war, while her statesmen have been waiting for Germany to pay. She sees now before her the spectre of bankruptcy, the spectre that haunts most nations in Europe, except those that are too wretched to care.

As for Canada, without vast resources in unoccupied lands and wealth unexploited she herself would be without hope. Her national debt, with population unchanged, is six times as great as in 1913. The interest on her debt is almost one-third of the national income. In the United States the farmer has suffered

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<sup>10</sup>Sir Philip Gibbs, *Ten Years After*, p. 85.

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hardship through the collapse of the European market for wheat and cotton, and the number of unemployed once rose as high as five millions. In all the western world trade is hampered, life depressed, and the future disquieting.

What of the future? "If mankind does not end war, war will end mankind. This has not been true in the past. But it is true in the present. For the present has produced something new. It has produced science. And if science is the principal hope of mankind, it is also the principal menace. For it can destroy as easily as it can create."<sup>11</sup>

Men cannot ponder too long or too well the ghastly certainties of future warfare. The next war, of which there are everywhere forebodings, will differ from all earlier wars, even the latest. Because science has enlisted in the service of

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<sup>11</sup>G. Lowes Dickinson, *War: Its Nature, Cause and Cure*, p. 11.



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Mars, the next war will move more directly towards its object. It will be less destructive of things and more destructive of men. It will pass over cities and search out their life. Like the destroying angel, it will leave cities standing, beautiful and fair but cities of the dead. For the weapons of the future are to be poison gas and disease germs. Knowledge of the latter has already advanced far enough for the purposes of war; and there is probably no nation of the West that is not also guarding some precious secret concerning poison gas. There has been open discussion in the United States for years of a certain "Lewisite Gas." It was ready for the campaign of 1919; only the termination of the war prevented its use. It is invisible. It is heavy and sinks into the final hiding places of animals and men. When breathed it kills almost instantly. If it settles upon the skin it will kill within a

## THE CHRISTIAN AND WAR

few hours. Given a favourable wind, a dozen one-ton Lewisite bombs could destroy all life in a great city.

This is not the testimony of men war-shocked and panicky; it is the deliberate testimony of men of cool judgment and knowledge. Thomas Edison has said: "There exists no means of preventing a flotilla of aeroplanes from flying over London to-morrow and spreading a gas that would poison its millions in three hours."<sup>12</sup>

It is quite idle to suppose that, if the nations agree on some more gentlemanly manner of killing, they will respect their agreements. The recent war taught us that. "The new warfare is marked by the ruthless use of every possible agency for destruction of life and material. No agency, however terrible, has continued to be unlawful from the moment it is discovered to be practical and effective in

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<sup>12</sup>Quoted by Dickinson, p. 12.

## THE COST OF WAR

determining the course of a battle or in bringing the war to an end . . . And all this is due to the fact that a war of nations in arms is in reality one of life and death, in which each will and must do what it can to save itself and destroy its adversary.”<sup>13</sup> In a critical moment some nation determines upon the indiscriminate use of the submarine or an indiscriminate long-distance blockade; and all others indulge in “reprisals.” And one cannot stop the carnage by discussing who began it.

It is hard to abandon hope in international covenants, for the mitigation of the horrors of war; but no hope remains. The Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments discussed the question of the submarine. Britain, with an eye to her vital imports of food, advocated the abolition of the submarine.

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<sup>13</sup>General Tasker H. Bliss, *What Really Happened at Paris*, p. 381.

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France replied that the submarine is a weapon of defence, not of offence; and that she would build great numbers of them. So an article was solemnly framed, forbidding the use of the submarine as a commerce destroyer. Will that article be observed? The Washington Conference adopted a rule forbidding the use of poison gas. Will that rule be kept? It is doubtful that any signatory nation has discontinued its manufacture of poison gas. Meanwhile the men who are to superintend the fighting are assuming that such pledges will not be kept. Lord Fisher from the beginning justified the German use of the submarine; and Admiral Sims of the United States Navy said at the annual dinner of the Albany Medical College Alumni Association, June 13, 1922: "If we are attacked, we will use gas, and we won't care how, when, or why."

This then is the situation and this the

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prospect. In all the great nations of the world men of science are perfecting weapons that will bring men and women and children, cities and villages, schools and churches, factories and hospitals, all the human and material wealth of nations, within the war area; and men of war will not reject these weapons. Killing is henceforth to be wholesale.

## CHAPTER II

# The Appeal of Men to the Churches

"Behold, this was His last command!  
Yet ye dare cry to Christ in prayer,  
With red and reeking sword in hand,  
Ye dare to do as devils dare!"

—Joaquin Miller.

IN our terrible peril many men, highly placed, look for help to Christian men and the Christian churches. It is felt that they can, if they will, suppress war; and that they are bound by their principles to make the adventure. Earl Haig has declared: "It is the business of the churches to make my business impossible." The Archbishop of Canterbury said of war, at the opening of the Assembly of the League of Nations in September, 1922: "We have seen with

## THE APPEAL TO CHURCHES

our eyes, we have heard in our homes and hospitals, its unspeakable, its illimitable horrors. . . . Once let the Christian men and women upon earth, West and East, North and South, kneel to God side by side, stand shoulder to shoulder before men, to say what they mean shall happen, or rather, what shall not happen, in the round world again, and they are irresistible." A few weeks earlier Premier Lloyd George had said, in a public appeal to the churches: "If the churches of Christ, throughout Europe and America, allow that (another war) to fructify, they had better close their doors;" and the appeal was widely and sympathetically noticed in the press of the world. In America the Federal Council of Churches summoned the churches to "a mighty crusade against the whole war system." "The churches," it said, "must wage this crusade with the same holy enthusiasm and unflinching

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devotion that characterized the ancient crusades."

There is a disposition in some quarters to go farther; men have said that the churches are deeply involved in the guilt of the recent war, and that they will be responsible if another should come. The gentleness of the late Clutton-Brock did not prevent him from saying that during the war the churches had declared a "moratorium in Christianity"; and when an Anglican bishop recently pronounced war a sin against God, the *Nation* rejoined: "What is the use of a message which is always delivered when it is not immediately relevant? The time for our Bishops and our Free Church leaders to declare for peace is when a war is on. For ourselves, we confess that the effrontery of spiritual leaders who preached a Holy War in 1914 and now stand forth in any other array than sackcloth and ashes is a staggering experience." In



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America the *New Republic*, the *Christian Century*, and many less-known journals have spoken similarly; and General Tasker H. Bliss, in a letter to the Churches, declared: "The responsibility is entirely on the professing Christians of the United States. If another war like the last one should come, they will be responsible for every drop of blood that will be shed and for every dollar wastefully expended."

It will not do to be summary and impatient in the face of such an indictment. He is a very bold man, or a very bad one, who will say that we have no need of repentance. But one is on more promising lines if he inquires what is the present duty and possibility; and this is not easy to determine. Some hold a consistent pacificism to be the duty of Christian men and institutions. Consonant with the principles they have long held, the Quakers, assembled at Philadelphia

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in 1922, appealed to the Christians of all lands against participation in war. "As Christians," they said, "we are striving for a 'warless world.' We are firmly convinced that this can only be achieved by refusal to participate in war, simply and sufficiently because war is by its very nature at variance with the message, the spirit, the life and death of Jesus Christ. We unite in supporting treaties of arbitration, limitation and reduction of armaments, international courts of justice, a league or association of nations for the preservation of peace. This is well; it is a great achievement for statesmen to accomplish these things; but it is not sufficient for the Christian Church. The most pressing reform of our time is to abolish war, and to establish exclusively peaceful means of settling disputes, and promoting co-operation among nations. . . To accomplish these results the Christian Church in practice and

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profession must condemn the whole system of war unequivocally and finally, relying not upon armed preparedness, but upon the awakened conscience of mankind."

There are many others, who had not previously thought out the issues of war, who are now ready to stand with the Quakers for pacificism. Leaders like Dr. Norwood in England and Dr. Fosdick in America have so declared. Sir Philip Gibbs, after an almost unexampled opportunity to observe war as a war correspondent, is now quite clear that pacificism is a Christian duty. "There is one world-wide organization of people" he says, "already pledged in the most solemn way to the principles of peace, charity and human brotherhood, without distinction of class or race. They are under the most sacred obligation to forgive their enemies; they are under a law which forbids them to kill their fellow-

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men. They are the people of the Christian Churches." This is the position now of many a Christian journal, notably of the *Christian Century*, which has said editorially: "The Church shall acknowledge the fundamental and eternal contradiction between war and Christianity; that the very fact of war shouts the failure of Christianity; and that the Church therefore cannot bless war without surrendering its character as Christian. The Church's clear duty, therefore, is to excommunicate war, deliberately and solemnly to say, and so to inform the State, that the State may never again expect to receive the resources of the Church . . . as aids of any war in which it may ask its citizens to engage."

There are others who feel that war is anti-Christian, but who yet either refuse the pacifist position or confess themselves in doubt. In England the C.O.P. E.C. Commission on War was able to

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reach agreement concerning the causes and motives of war and its terrible evils; but when it advanced to the question of the Christian's duty in the presence of war, it had to admit disagreement within the Commission and report that it was "impossible to reconcile fully the points of view of those who take the Pacifist position and of those who, while regarding war as irreconcilable with the triumph of the Gospel, cannot as yet condemn it in all circumstances."<sup>1</sup> In America a group of 155 leading ministers and laymen of various churches united in a declaration which says: "There are some among us, of whom the signatories of this appeal form a small group, who regard war as the most ruinous organized sin which mankind now faces; who are sure that the war system and the Christian Gospel cannot permanently

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<sup>1</sup>The report of the Commission is published in a volume, *Christianity and War*, Longmans, Green & Co.

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abide together on the same earth . . . (but) our position in this appeal does not involve theoretical pacificism; we are not concerned to deny the necessity of using force, it may be in an emergency; nor of a moderate military organization for defensive purposes. But the war system is not an appeal to force in an emergency—it is a long drawn out and deliberate preparation for the use of every known means of cruel and collective destruction. . . We are certain that unless the Church of Christ takes now a clear and consistent stand on this matter of life and death to our civilization and to the world, they will merit the contempt of men and the judgment of God.”<sup>2</sup> The General Committee of the World’s Student Christian Federation, meeting in Peking in April, 1922, admitted a similar difficulty. “We consider it our absolute

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<sup>2</sup>The declaration may be secured from the World Alliance for Promoting Friendship through the Churches, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.

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duty," the Committee said, "to do all in our power to fight the causes leading to war, and war itself as a means of settling international disputes. . . We declare frankly that we have not succeeded in reaching an agreement as to what our individual attitude ought to be in the event of war. Some are convinced that under no circumstances can they as Christians engage in war; others that under certain circumstances they ought to take their share in the struggle. . . We desire that the different National Movements of the Federation should face, fearlessly and frankly, in the light of Jesus' teachings, the whole question of war and of those social and economic forces which tend to issue in war."

So much at least would seem to be the duty of every Christian man, the practical wisdom for all Christian institutions. The existing international situation offers inadequate security against the early re-

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currence of war, and it cannot be that Christianity has nothing to say concerning the deadliest peril confronting civilization. But who knows certainly what it is? For lack of some Christian consensus, the Christian conscience almost universally was thrown into confusion by the recent war. Christian men followed the leaders whom all other men followed; Christian churches espoused the causes that all other institutions espoused. No great religious body spoke audibly and convincingly for the wider brotherhood of humanity and the ultimate values of life. It is of the last importance that the Christian Church should not again be taken unawares, her witness not yet borne, her duty not yet clear. That she should again be unready would be almost fatal to her spiritual authority.

But if the Church is to bear her witness in the imminent presence of war,



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she ought now not only to make up her mind, but to make her mind known, on the issues of war. If she conceives it to be her duty to back the national arms in all circumstances, she ought now to declare her reasons. If, in certain eventualities, or in all eventualities, she cannot back the national arms, she ought equally to declare her reasons. She cannot preserve her liberty of action and her spiritual integrity in the day of decision, unless she wins in advance the right to determine her own duty and follow her own light.

### CHAPTER III.

## The Response of the Churches must be Consonant with the Christian View of Life

“Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.

“But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you;

“That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.”

—Jesus Christ.

AS in an orderly society, so in an honourable life, practices are the visible expression of principles, duties are determined by reference to them. And we repeat that Christian men and institutions are under the most solemn obli-

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gation to make clear to themselves what attitude to war is required of them by the Christian view of life. And this is not easy. At least it is true, as we have said, that many, perhaps most, Christian consciences fell into confusion in the presence of war. Nothing like the situation it presented had ever before confronted us. We really did not know, now that the question was raised, whether we could commit ourselves to the principles of Jesus, or indeed what those principles required of us. He had spoken, without doubt He had spoken, about loving one's enemies and resisting not him that is evil. He had counselled that they that took the sword would perish with the sword. But did such sayings mean what they seemed to mean; and if so, were they applicable here? We really did not know, and meanwhile there was nothing to be done but to go on quietly, maintaining our spiritual in-

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tegrity as well as might be, and praying that someone might speedily appear who could interpret for us the lurid events of the day.

This confusion was due primarily to the fact that most Christians have never made clear to themselves what loyalty to the Scriptures requires of them. They would be loyal to Moses, forgetting that "Moses because of the hardness of (men's) hearts" suffered them to do many things that were not in the original purpose of the Creator. There is to them no progress in the Scriptures, no development in their truth and spiritual authority. They have not understood the word, "the law and the prophets were until John" but thenceforth "the gospel of the kingdom of God is preached."

Our Lord sets His own spiritual authority definitely above that of the ancient Scriptures. Where it "was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not for-

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swear thyself," He said "Swear not at all"; where it was said "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," He said, Retaliation never undid a wrong nor restored a broken fellowship, "Resist not him that is evil." Men might follow ancient precedents, even that of the prophet Elisha, and yet receive His rebuke, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of."

Because Christian society has never finally distinguished between what is Christian and what is not Christian in the Scriptures, it is unable either to think clearly or to achieve Christian unanimity in the face of the deadliest danger. There are as "certain warrants of holy Scripture" for the priestly view of religion as a life of tithes and offerings, burnt sacrifices and holy days, as for the prophetic view that to "do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly" with God is to live religiously, without thou-

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sands of rams and rivers of oil. There are as "certain warrants of holy Scripture" for the command of the prophet to Saul—"Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass"—There is as certain warrant in Scripture for this as for the word of Jesus, "Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven." Are we never to distinguish between what comes at the beginning and what at the end of Israel's life with God, what is consonant and what is not consonant with the spirit and will of Christ?

We cannot too urgently insist that the failure so to distinguish has confused the mind concerning Jesus, obscured His way of life, and delayed immeasurably the coming of His Kingdom; and this in our

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latest crisis. At those moments in recent years when just an understanding of Jesús' way of life would have brought to bewildered and stricken humanity the one clear call, for lack of which it was perishing, the voices of Christian teachers were either dumb with doubt or a Babel of conflicting admonitions from Mosaic morals and Jewish eschatology. The voice that has least been heard through all these years is the voice of Jesus. It is not strange. If one is not to distinguish between Scriptures, one is as likely to seek his Christian duty in the 137th Psalm as in the Gospels, and may expect, in a day of popular passion, to be found seeking the favour of God in a frenzy of blood-lust: "Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones."

Our appeal is to the Gospel, to the teachings and spirit of the Lord, and to the Christian conscience. We have faith

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that very many have not so much betrayed Christ as lost Him, that they need only see the way and they will not be prevented by the pull of many precedents and the persuasion of political considerations from following it. So we would recall what is the Christian view of life; by which we mean, What is Christ's view of life?

He envisages a way of life to which most men in the western nations, and some men in all nations, render lip service, and which many lofty souls genuinely believe to be the pathway to reality. We are not now concerned to prove that this way *is* superior to all others; though its superiority, like the sunlight, seems to us self-evidencing. Here we are concerned only to recall what it is, that we may determine what attitude to war may be rightly expected of those who either follow or approve this way.



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Because we have appealed to Jesus the point of departure for our quest must be the Kingdom of God. In it all Jesus' thought centres; to it all His actions relate. It was to Him the pearl of great price, the treasure hid in a field, for which the wise man will sell all else.

The Kingdom of God, in Jesus' thought, was both within men and among them. It was both present and to come, growing silently like a grain of mustard seed, to be consummated "when the Son of Man shall come in His glory." None were constitutionally incapable of citizenship; for there were no superior and inferior peoples in the sight of Him who was able of common shingle to raise up spiritual kindred to Abraham. Indeed the superior, by reason of their superiority, might become unfit for citizenship, developing tempers and attitudes not native to the Kingdom, and being displaced by others "from the east and the west," of humbler judgment and a truer faith.

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The Kingdom of God admitted of no moral compromises. Jesus Himself determined at the outset, after forty days of retirement and conflict, that for no ends whatever would He adopt the ways of the world. He would not be moved by personal considerations; He would not trust for success to anything but the truth of His life, the worth of His cause; He would not compromise His liberty and integrity by unholy alliances. For the sake of the kingdom He parted company with even the godly of His day in the matter of their Sabbath laws, their taboos concerning food and social relationships, their political methods and ends, their whole conception of life and duty. And to the same uncompromising loyalty He summoned His disciples. In this sense He came not to send peace but a sword. Families, He knew, would be disrupted as men obeyed His summons; for those who would be His disciples must not put

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even the ties of family before His enterprises. Conventional duties, even the highest, might have to be left to conventional people, while they pursued the ends of the Kingdom. There was to be no wavering, no longing for the past; they could not run a straight furrow if, having put their hands to the plow, they looked back. It was nothing that men should call Him Lord, unless they were steadfast, like Him, in the will of the Father. In this they were to be perfect, even as their heavenly Father was perfect.

The values of the Kingdom of God were humility and single-mindedness, aspiration after goodness and the exercise of mercy, the achievement of peace and the enduring of reproach in great causes. And through all runs the exaltation of fellowship. To achieve that, one was to forgive without ceasing, to refuse to meet violence with violence, to include even

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the enemy and the alien in one's mercy and one's prayers.

The methods of the Kingdom were love, reverence, and service. Love, Jesus said, was central; for love alone was redemptive. Towards it all law and prophecy laboured. To love each other was to give one authentic sign that men were His indeed; to love even their enemies was to be sons of the Father in heaven, who "maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust." No lower substitute for love would do; for redemption is through fellowship, and only love seeks fellowship and renders it secure. Even kindness is of another order. One may be kind to those with whom one seeks no fellowship; as one is kind to grasshoppers but does not desire to form with them a fellowship. Only love desires fellowship and grieves when it is broken; and only love therefore can save.

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And akin to love was reverence for personality. No laws were adequate to protect the rights Jesus saw in personality. The law of His fathers protected physical life; "Thou shalt not kill," it said. But one may refrain from violence against the bodies of one's fellows, while weakening their lives and murdering their souls at last. And Jesus would protect the souls of men against assault. To be angry with one's brother was to be fit subject for the local court; to use to one's brother words of contempt was to invite the attention of the supreme court; to write one's brother down a fool was to be oneself in danger of Gehenna. Not killing alone, but contemptuous speech, was an offence against personality.

This reverence for personality directed all the Master's ways with men. Children were not an annoyance to Him, not an interruption of important work, because He saw worth in them. The leper

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was not shut off from Him by decaying joints and general loathsomeness, reinforced by the restraints of quarantine, because He saw worth in him. Men and women, outcasts to others, were at home with Him, because He saw worth in them. We are most at home, not with those in whom we see most, but with those who see most in us.

And such love and reverence would inevitably find expression in service. Jesus' opening announcement at Nazareth was a programme of service. The Spirit of the Lord had come upon Him that He might "preach good tidings to the poor," set free the enslaved, restore the blind and the broken. The credential He submitted to John the Baptist, doubtful whether the hope of Israel had come or they must still look for another, was His relief of distress. This seemed to Him the authentic sign of a divine commission. The pre-eminence He offered others

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was pre-eminence in service; to be a voluntary servant was to be great, to go farthest in service was to be greatest. The Church arose out of Jesus' perception of human needs; "when He saw the multitude he was moved with compassion for them, because they were skinned and discarded," as sheep when the wolves have gone through them. So "he called unto him his twelve disciples" and sent them forth on the mission that eventuated in the Church. If, when "He shall come to judge the quick and the dead," men have been indifferent to hunger and thirst, homesickness and want, the affliction and isolation of mankind, out they go. For the canon by which life will ultimately be judged, He says, is service to humanity, which is therefore service to Him who bears all humanity on His heart. Social redemption through vicarious suffering lies very near the heart of the cross. Sacrificial service is Jesus' way, and the way of all who follow Him.

## CHAPTER IV.

# The Church gradually departed from Jesus' Conception of the Kingdom of God, in its Attitude to Force, including War

"The priest and the prophet . . . err in vision,  
they stumble in judgment."

—Isaiah.

WE have been reminded, in the preceding discussion, that the Christian religion, unlike orthodox Judaism and Mohammedanism, is not a nomistic religion, but a religion of the spirit. That is to say, it does not so much prescribe the action to be taken in particular situations as proclaim the spirit to be manifested in all situations. So that its ethical system is but a group, a very



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small group, of principles that disciples must learn, in the school of life, to apply for themselves. And the moral problems that especially require for their solution the application of Christian principles disclose themselves only gradually, and in the order of their universality and their pressure as the days pass.

The great leaders of the Apostolic Church cannot be denied the honour of having understood what was the spirit, what were the principles, that were to direct the disciples of Jesus Christ. Love, reverence, service, were the weapons of apostolic Christianity. Not only were Christians to love one another, because love is of God; they were to feed the hungry enemy and give him drink, thus winning him to fellowship and overcoming evil with good. In particular, the Christian spirit soon emancipated the apostles from racial prejudices and animosities. To the "new man" there was no longer

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“Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman.” To Paul emancipation came through his perception of the capacity of aliens for the highest, their receptivity to the Gospel; to Peter it came perhaps in the same way, though mediated through trance and vision. Those who were not so emancipated lost their place in the Christian movement within two or three generations.

But war was not one of the moral problems first presented to the young Church. To the Christian Jews of Palestine, even if they had not broken with the national community, war would have been political madness; and this would be one of the aspects of the case that determined Jesus’ admonition to the Zealots against taking the sword. To the Jews of the Dispersion participation in war was likely to involve either treachery to their kinsmen or extinction for them.

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selves. Besides through all the world where Paul and Peter preached, if the army was ever present, war itself was remote. The problems pressing for immediate solution in the Christian Church were rather problems of the adjustment of the new faith to Judaism, to Jewish national aspirations, to Gentile morals. We can only infer what would have been the apostolic injunction if aerial bombs had fallen on Antioch or poison gas had crawled through Corinth. The apostolic ethical ideals, as we have said, were those of Jesus; and it may be significant that the Epistle to the Hebrews, with its panegyric on the warrior heroes of the Old Testament, and the Apocalypse, with its pictures of bloody scenes of which the saints were to be sympathetic spectators, are among the writings concerning which the Church was most in doubt and which were therefore the last to be admitted to the Canon of Scripture.

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For two hundred years after apostolic days, war, as such, was not a pressing problem for the Church. Christians were rather concerned to meet the intellectual and moral attacks of their ancient enemies, the Jews, and their new enemies, the Greeks. They had also to continue the struggle with the low morals of Roman society, and at times to fight for life itself against the Roman government. Even for Christian soldiers there were much more pressing problems than that of bloodshed; for while many Christians were in the legions, Rome was neither everywhere nor always at war. There were whole generations in Roman Britain when the legions needed hardly to repel a hostile raid. Roman soldiers, at various times, in various areas, were as unfamiliar with slaughter as were Canadian militiamen before the recent war. But everywhere Christian soldiers in the legions had to determine whether

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they would stoop to Roman common morals, whether they could conform to Roman state religion.

Thus the question of war itself was not settled during the first three Christian centuries. Other problems were more pressing. Some Christian leaders assumed that the principle of Paul (1 Cor: 7, 20) applied to soldiers as to others,—they were to remain in the station and the calling in which they were converted. Thus Clement of Alexandria wrote: “Practice farming, we say, if you are a farmer, but know God as you till your fields; sail away, if you are fond of sea-faring, but call upon the heavenly Pilot; if the knowledge of the Gospel has come upon you in the army, listen to the General who gives orders that are righteous.”<sup>1</sup> If Christians had been converted from among those who indulged in the profitable Roman traffic in harlots,

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<sup>1</sup>*Protrept.*, x 100.

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Clement doubtless would have made it clear that Paul presupposed an occupation honourable in itself; and Clement had no thought that the profession of arms was of itself unchristian. But there were other Christian leaders who took another view. Justin Martyr and Tatian, Irenaeus and Tertullian, Origen and Athanasius, Cyprian and Lactantius, are among the Christian fathers who denounced the practice of arms as inconsistent with the Christian profession. Tertullian, having once gloried that Christians were taking prominent place in all the activities of the State, including the army, came at last to a thorough pacifism on Christian grounds: "When Jesus said, 'He who uses the sword shall perish by the sword,' He made it unlawful for a Christian to use the sword at all; if a Christian cannot go to law much less can he, as a son of peace, go to battle; if he is not allowed to avenge in-

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juries done to himself, he cannot consistently take part in imprisoning or torturing or punishing his fellow-creatures.”<sup>2</sup>

This was the tendency among Christian leaders; it cannot be said that it was the decision of the Church. The Church had not yet developed such a constitution as enabled her to speak unitedly on any question. There was no Pope, no Curia, no Oecumenical Council to formulate and declare her will. And both preoccupation and eschatological hopes still indisposed her to work out consistently all the issues of Roman citizenship. But the Christian spirit was manifesting itself in ways that boded ill for military imperialism. The Roman Empire was at war with Parthia, there was disaffection in Palestine, everywhere the frontiers were held only by force of arms, and Roman statesmen were preaching a

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<sup>2</sup>*De Corona, iv.*



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policy of military imperialism, when Justin Martyr wrote: "We who were filled with war, and mutual slaughter, and every wickedness, have each through the whole earth changed our warlike weapons,—our swords into ploughshares, and our spears into implements of tillage, and we cultivate piety, righteousness, philanthropy, faith, and hope, which we have from the Father himself through Him who was crucified."<sup>3</sup>

The tendency is plain. But change began when Constantine I found imperial uses for the young faith and the Christian Church became the favourite son of the State. To read in Eusebius the fulsome praise of Constantine, himself a bloody man, is to be sorrowfully aware that the Church will not long cherish any exclusive faith in spiritual forces, and that black betrayals are at hand. Under the sons of Constantine Christian bish-

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<sup>3</sup>*Dialogue with Trypho, cx.*



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ops united with the civil power in violent measures against paganism. To love one's enemies and do them good seemed less advantageous, and not more Christian, than to "drive out the Canaanites" and "utterly destroy them." And hardly had another generation passed when the aged Athanasius could say: "To destroy opponents in war is lawful and worthy of praise."

Even now there were survivals of the earlier view. The Canons of Hippolytus (13, 14) which cannot be earlier than the close of the fourth century, forbade voluntary enlistment, and excluded from the Lord's table even conscripted soldiers, until penance should have been done for the blood that had been shed. Basil the Great, bishop of Cæsarea in the late fourth century, took up a similar position. (Epistles clxxxviii, ccxvii). But the tendency was otherwise, and it was accelerated by the growing weakness of

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the Empire and the growing peril. Rome, once the aggressor against all nations and the enemy of Christian Churches, was now fighting for her own life. Throughout the fifth century successive waves of barbarian invasion swept over western Europe and rolled up to the walls of the Eternal City itself. Those who fought for Rome now fought for the only civilization men knew, and the only visible protector of the Christian Church. In such a situation Augustine of Hippo, with the Vandals before his own gates, developed an opportunist doctrine of war. He appealed as freely to pre-Christian as to Christian practice; David, he says, was a warrior, and John Baptist permitted men to remain in the army. Jesus too had declared, in the matter of the tribute money, that one should render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and "tribute money is paid for the very purpose of providing pay for

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the soldiers who are needed to fight." Besides someone must repel the barbarians.<sup>4</sup> The argument is not very conclusive, but Augustine did guide the Christian conscience in a time of terrible perplexity; and he did not forget to condemn the militaristic spirit, to reprobate the senseless carnage of war, and to enjoin that the Christian soldier remember that he is a Christian.

Her despair of the world and her rapid decline in culture, in the centuries after Augustine, made it unlikely that the Church of the Middle Ages would work out the issues of ethics and citizenship. As for the question of war, the bishops in feudalism fought according to their material interests or their national sentiments. In papal practice such wars were righteous as served the ends of papal policy. To war against a bad

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<sup>4</sup>*Epistles* cxxxviii, clxxxix, cexx, etc., as also in the *Commentaries* and the treatise against Faustus.

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sovereign was wrong, if the sovereign, like King John of England, was submissive to the Pope; to war against a good sovereign was right, if the sovereign, like Frederick II, was not submissive. To fall in battle with the Saracen was holy martyrdom, even if one failed to secure thereby the holy places or protect the Christian pilgrims; to succeed in these aims, but to do so by peaceful negotiations, was to betray the faith. There are no madder enterprises in human history than those which, under the guise of crusades, sent women and children, old men and boys, robbers and harlots, through the forests of Eastern Germany and the Balkans, only to perish on the way, or fall in senseless slaughter at the end. The great scholastics gave no leadership against such evils, because it is the nature of scholasticism to explain and justify, not to question, what authority has decreed.

As for the Protestant Fathers, they

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were too busy with other things to work out the Christian ethic of war, and too closely pressed to give it effect if they found it. Besides Protestantism was nowhere tempted to enter upon wars of aggression; and in her defensive struggles the weapons seemed chosen by the enemy. And she required, in some areas, the support of the civil power, and could find good warrant for cultivating its good-will. For an early discovery of the Reformers, as they came afresh to the Scriptures, was that, if they said nothing of popes, they did say much of kings, and something of rulers and authorities and "powers that be," to whom men owed submission. To the Reformers it seemed a necessary inference that existing authorities were somehow of God's choosing. That men had come to power through craft or cunning, that they exercised it in self-will and oppression, could not quite obviate the inference that

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they came within His purpose. In England particularly, the Church was compromised by her alliance with the State, and by the doctrine of the divine right of kings. Submission to the royal will was conceived to be a religious duty, and the *Articles of Religion* specified that "It is lawful for Christian men, at the command of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars."

The history of Protestantism, since those first generations when it was itself a revolt against authority, discloses a growing disposition to support existing authorities, even when they are instruments of tyranny, and existing institutions, even when they are wrong. It is natural that it should be so. Great social advances come only with travail, dislocation, and bitterness. It is infinitely easier to support existing institutions than to pioneer for new, and infinitely preferable, when they can be made to

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serve the ends of truth. And the easier way becomes inevitable, when religious sanction can be found for almost any social institution, however evil. Protestantism has too often chosen the easier way. As in England, through all the long Stuart tyranny, democracy was hampered by episcopal support of the "divine right of kings," so in America slavery was prolonged by religious support. In 1863 the religious bodies of the South united in an appeal to the Christian conscience of the world. "The recent proclamation of the President of the United States," they said, "seeking the emancipation of the slaves of the South, is in our judgment occasion of solemn protest on the part of the people of God." So powerful was the support of slavery by the Church that William Lloyd Garrison declared "American Christianity is the main pillar of American slavery"; and, looking back upon the bitter struggle,



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Parker Pillsbury said: "We had almost to abolish the Church before we could reach the dreadful thing at all." Social conservatism is a besetting sin of Protestantism. For very few great social advances has she, corporately, provided leadership. Political democracy has come without her, almost in spite of her. Social and industrial democracy, and the emancipation of women, have come in the same way. Is it to be so of international peace?

For fifteen centuries the Christian Church, Catholic and Protestant, has had no distinctive doctrine of war. To endure the great social ills has been esteemed a greater achievement than to remove them, and the hypothetical terrors of eternity have seemed more immediate than the actual horrors of war. Here and there a prophet—St. Francis, Peter Waldo, George Fox—has preached the more excellent way. Here and there a



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sect—the Moravians, the Society of Friends—has protested against appeals to the sword. Their voices have seldom been heard above the tumult of class and race strife, even within the Church. Orthodox Christianity, in the main, aspiring to catholicity in constitution and doctrine, has been frankly national in politics and subservient to the State in its military enterprises. To-day the conscience of the Church is stirring uneasily. Many, many Christian men feel the shame of having to confess, as Lord Bryce did before the British Association in 1918, that “after twenty centuries of civilization and nineteen centuries of Christianity mankind is settling its disputes in the same way that mankind did in the Stone Age.” The moment seems opportune for men of good will, who are able to make up their minds and willing to enlighten their fellows, on the issues of war.

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Let those who will undertake this task first recall again that Christianity is not a nomistic religion, but a religion of the spirit. The most diligent search therefore will not disclose a set of rules covering all human situations; it will disclose only a spirit in which all situations are to be faced, principles by which all conduct must be determined. Equally let them remember that to appeal to an external authority only, however august, is to invite once more confusion and humiliation. The Fathers? They had no agreed doctrine of war, and often none at all. The Church? For any primary moral problem there is no such thing; there are only churches, and individuals within churches. The Scriptures? They speak with many voices on many themes, and not always in consonance with the Gospel. Jesus of Nazareth? There are many things of which He speaks no word; there is a spirit

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which He commends, a way of life consonant therewith, a few principles that furnish it with a philosophy. To those who have that spirit and those principles He says again, "Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?"

## CHAPTER V.

# What, then, is a Christian Attitude to War?

“What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purport and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil, in the British village of Dumdrudge, usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain ‘Natural Enemies’ of the French, there are successively selected, during the French war, say thirty able-bodied men: Dumdrudge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them; she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone avoirdupois. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected; all dressed in red; and shipped away, at the public charges, some two thousand miles, or say only to the south of Spain; and fed there till wanted. And now to that same spot in the south of Spain, are thirty similar French artisans, from a French Dumdrudge, in like manner wending: till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come in to actual juxtaposition; and Thirty stands fronting

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Thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word 'Fire!' is given: and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of sixty brisk useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anew shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the Devil is, not the smallest! They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so wide a Universe, there was even, unconsciously, by Commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! their Governors had fallen out."—Thomas Carlyle.

**W**HAT, then, is a Christian attitude to war?

We shall clarify the issue if we keep the question of war distinct from the more general question of the admissibility of force. In spite of all that has been said, we are unable to affirm that force can never be a Christian weapon. We conceive that there are circumstances in which force can be made to serve the ends of love, reverence and service; though it is such a servant as tends to break bounds and to seize control, to obscure the ends in view and substitute

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more immediate and lower ends. It is just for this reason that it is now recognized in home and school that the measure in which one must appeal to force is the measure in which one fails as parent and teacher. And this principle is slowly gaining recognition in all spheres, including business and penology. Nevertheless, as we have said, we cannot affirm that force can *never* serve Christian ends. It may hold the gate, while love, reverence and service labour to save the city; it may bring one to the school where love, reverence and service labour to fit one for living; it may intervene on the side of justice, or helplessness, where the issue is already being decided by force. Such legitimate and necessary uses of force are sometimes seen in our surgeries, where patients must first be bound that they may then be healed. They are seen in the application of means for police protection and sanitary inspection,

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for compulsory school attendance and the protection of women and children. And it would seem to be impossible to maintain that in the international field force can never serve Christian ends.

But here a distinction must be made between war and national, or international, police action. In general, wars have been appeals to armed force for the settlement of questions in dispute, without judicial examination and decision by any neutral and accepted tribunal. At best the question of right has been matter of discussion between the disputants themselves, and appeal has been had to war to determine what discussion has failed to determine. At worst, the question of right has been the subject of no honest discussion; and, with or without pretence of justice, the stronger have enforced their will upon the weaker by force of arms. In both cases there has been no preliminary decision, by compe-

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tent judicial process, of the question in dispute; and the final decision, after appeal to arms, has had no necessary relation to the original question of right. But there have been occasions, both within and between nations, when the question at issue has first been made the subject of proper judicial enquiry, and the appeal to arms has been in support of judicial decisions. Such appeals have themselves the defects of all appeals to force, but at least they are *capable* of some control, with reference to moral ends already determined by right means. And such appeals to force may with fairness be described as national, or international police action, as distinct from war. This distinction we ourselves have in mind throughout, and we repeat that it seems impossible to maintain that, in the international field, force can never serve Christian ends.

If appeal is made, as it ought to be, to



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the example of Jesus, the question is nevertheless, not simply, What did Jesus do? but, What would Jesus do? He never discharged the duties of civil government; His disciples never led the State. His nation, too, was one for which an appeal to force against her oppressors was political madness. What would Jesus do as ruler of a State? What would He enjoin upon the citizens of an Empire? We may be quite sure both that love with Him would be more efficient than with us, and that He would enjoin upon others nothing that is inconsistent with love of their fellows, reverence for personality, service of mankind. He would make small use of force; first, because it cannot directly serve moral ends, or of itself settle any moral issue; second, because, when appealed to, it tends to become a substitute, not a supplement, for that love and reverence and service, which can directly serve moral ends and settle issues.

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This is true of force in the whole world of moral activities and ends. It cannot directly serve any moral end. Your surgeon has not taken the first step in healing when the patient is bound; your policeman has not discovered justice when the suspect is arrested. They have but created the conditions in which healing may be undertaken, justice sought, by quite other means. And if in their respective processes they forget health and justice, your surgeon himself becomes a brute, your policeman a bully.

This cannot be too clearly seen. Force cannot be a Christian weapon, nor those who use it Christian agents, except in so far as their force is kept subsidiary to other means, is controlled with reference to moral ends, and is exercised in a spirit consonant with those ends.

Just this is what war never can be or do. War is such a use of force as inevitably degenerates into violence, obscures

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all moral ends, and never can be a Christian weapon, even when waged in a righteous cause. And this for several reasons :—

(i) It visits penalties upon innocent and guilty alike, and does a thousand wrongs for every one it can hope to undo. A nation is aroused to avenge a wrong against its nationals or an ally, and before the avenging force can reach the scene of conflict men of its own ranks are court-martialled for offences against their own fellow-citizens. The greatest military Power in the world violates the neutrality of a small State, in the name of military necessity. It is “contrary to International Law,” as her Chancellor confesses; but she is threatened on two fronts, and “whoever is threatened as we are and is fighting for his all can only consider how to hack his way through.”<sup>1</sup> But the greatest naval Power feels com-

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<sup>1</sup>Bethmann-Hollweg. Kriegsregen, 3-11.

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pelled to retaliate by establishing a blockade that destroys men and women and children alike and fills half a continent with the diseases of prolonged under-nourishment. It is true that food is only conditional contraband, "to be stopped if found to be destined for the armed forces of the enemy";<sup>2</sup> but she also is fighting for her life and the life of her allies, and food for enemy civilians will release food for enemy soldiers. Besides there are abundant precedents for special interpretations of international law. "A belligerent with superior sea-power always contended for an interpretation of international law that would justify the maximum of interference with goods that might conceivably reach the enemy;" though her attitude might change if not herself engaged. "When we were a neutral we had, in the interest of our commerce, disputed the maximum

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<sup>2</sup>Viscount Grey, *Twenty-five Years*, II, 108.

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right of interference claimed by belligerents, as in the war between France and China in 1885, when the French declared rice to be contraband of war.”<sup>3</sup>

Such moral anarchy is unavoidable in war. Belligerent nations choose life before law, and belligerent individuals act under compulsion. So airmen drop bombs upon an enemy capital, and they fall at an exit of the *Tube*, on gentle and violent alike, men and women, young and old, friends and enemies; and opposing airmen drop bombs in like fashion, and they fall upon a circus of children. A nation comes into the war, in protest against the practice of destroying merchant ships by submarines without warning; and its experts are soon working out means of destroying merchant ships from the air, without warning. Submarines, poison gas, burning oil, disease germs are called in to determine a ques-

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<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.* II, 107-8.

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tion of right. It is as General Bliss said: "No agency, however terrible, has continued to be unlawful from the moment it is discovered to be practical and effective." And no indiscriminate wrongs of past wars can match the indiscriminate wrongs of future wars, when poison bombs, capable of destroying whole cities within a few hours, and disease germs, capable of destroying whole countryside, are to be the favourite instruments of righteousness.

Herein is an aspect of war to be studied. The mediæval knight could sometimes say whom and how he would slay; an infantryman in the recent struggle could occasionally hold his hand or guide it humanely. But the days of chivalry in war, at least to one's enemy, are numbered. So much of it as survives the next war will survive because men, fighting from the air, or from far distant emplacements, or from the

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laboratory, will not be required to look upon the evil that they do. Unless their chivalry should die because they will to do the thing they dare not see! In any case, what shall one say of such helps to international righteousness as can themselves make no distinction between right and wrong?

(ii) In general, war does not ennoble; it rather debases the champions of right themselves. There are, of course, rare souls of whom this is not so. An Englishman, who writes of war with great insight and precision, quotes from an unpublished diary of the Great War: "I had in this company a sense of union, of identity, of complete atoneness and a strength of pure affection which I have never felt for anyone else. . . It was a personal devotion ideally expressed by 'greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for another.' I think that is one of the good points of



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war, that it makes you true to others and go outside yourself where he who stands alone is lost. I suppose that is as good for character as the Army is bad.”<sup>4</sup>

Men of fine feeling will neither deny nor disparage the experience which such words record. One Rupert Brooke, one Donald Hankey, did, we know, preserve his soul alive in the midst of war; and there were many others, of whom we do not know because they could not speak as could these two. But those who achieved in war a great spiritual victory will not say either that their experiences were the common experiences or that they accredit war. They are only something to be set against its horrors. We who make this appeal have all received the confessions of men, choice men, who passed through the fire. They are a disillusioned company. One Scotsman, a student for the

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<sup>4</sup>Quoted by G. Lowes Dickinson in *War, Its Nature, Cause and Cure*, p. 6.



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Christian ministry, said: "My pal refused to fight and went to prison for his principles, though it broke his heart. He endured all the contempt that could be poured upon him, and he has come out refined and uplifted by persecution. I enlisted, because I thought this was a great crusade for righteousness, and I have come out of my crusade coarsened and befouled." We cannot bring ourselves to dwell upon this theme. To say anything is to seem ungenerous; to say nothing is to be party to a dangerous conspiracy of silence. The story has been told by men who saw the war in all its phases, and who are capable of telling what they saw.<sup>5</sup> That story ought to be read once by all who would see their duty in the matter of war.

(iii) War breeds such tempers as indispose its participants to desire right-

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<sup>5</sup>Especially by Dickinson, just quoted; also by C. E. Montague, in *Disenchantment*, and Sir Philip Gibbs in *Now It Can be Told*, chaps. II, III, V.

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eous settlements, and inevitably tends to substitute the results of force for a real settlement of the moral issues themselves. The schooling of the ranks in hate, the rousing of blood lust, is part of the necessary discipline of war. Mr. St. John Ervine, in a letter to the *Nation*, July 21, 1921, indicated the nature of the literature provided the officers and men of the British Army, in education for their work. From a British military manual, issued by the General Staff and called *The Offensive Spirit* he quoted: "All ranks must be taught that their aim and object is to come to close quarters with the enemy as quickly as possible so as to be able to use the bayonet. This must become a second nature. . . . Bayonet fighting produces lust for blood." The same manual urges the platoon commander to increase his own efficiency and win the confidence of his men by "being bloodthirsty and forever think-

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ing how to kill the enemy and helping his men to do so."

Mr. Ervine's letter went on to report discussions he had heard on the field: " 'If it was permissible to blow a man's body to pieces with a five-nine, why was it reprehensible to kill him with mustard-gas? If it was permissible to kill him when he was unwounded, why was it not permissible to kill him after he was wounded? If he were not killed by us we had to employ stretcher-bearers and doctors and nurses and attendants to take care of him and thus deprive our own men of a certain amount of care. Moreover, we had to feed him! . . . Similarly with the prisoners. . . What was the sense of taking prisoners when they could be more conveniently dealt with by getting them all into a corner and turning a Lewis gun on them? There would be less food for our own side if we had to feed prisoners!' " It was admitted, when

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the argument was pressed to a conclusion, that since doctors and nurses were restoring wounded men to the firing line, it was quite right that they should be killed; that hospitals ought specially to be bombed; that logically one ought to follow the example of the Indians, who killed the babies of a defeated tribe, that they might not grow up to seek revenge.

Happily, this was rather the logical conclusion of an argument than the settled practice of armies; though there were officers who encouraged the men to kill prisoners, and men who did as they were encouraged to do. And these were decent men in peace, decent men in war, only in the clutch of foul circumstances.<sup>6</sup>

But in the main the education in bloodlust was not very successful among the fighting men. It is hard for men to hate thoroughly when enduring the same sorry

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<sup>6</sup>See Gibbs, *Now It Can be Told*, pp. 110-113, and elsewhere.

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necessity, though of different races and in opposite trenches. Commanders in all armies during the late war had to go to great lengths to secure against friendly feelings for the enemy. When the Guards near Loos improvised a concert, with mouth-organs and combs and whistles, the Germans crowded into their front line and applauded. When the Guards played *Annie Laurie*, a German officer stood on the parapet and sang it, in good English and with great tenderness. Such things happened at many places, and divisions had to be moved to end the dangerous good-will.

Propaganda was more effective in generating hatred at home than military manuals and training in generating blood-lust on the field. Nothing is too grotesque to be believed by most civilians in war time. During the recent war, "greedy was the appetite of the mob for atrocity tales. The more revolting

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they were the quicker they were swallowed. The foul absurdity of the 'corpse-factory' was not rejected any more than the tale of the 'crucified Canadian' (disproved by our own G.H.Q.) or the cutting off of children's hands and women's breasts, for which I could find no evidence from the only British ambulance working in the districts where such horrors were reported. Spy-mania flourished in mean streets. German music was banned in English drawing-rooms. Preachers and professors denied any quality of virtue or genius to German poets, philosophers, scientists, or scholars. A critical weighing of evidence was regarded as pro-Germanism and lack of patriotism."<sup>7</sup>

We can trace now the processes by which some of these atrocity tales developed. A British shell pierces the roof of the underground cook-house of certain

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<sup>7</sup>Gibbs, *Now It Can be Told*, p. 521.

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German officers, beside the St. Quentin Canal: The area is taken in battle, and in the cook-house are found the bodies of ten men, among the bread and the meat and the cauldrons. One body, blown to rags, lies across the coffee-cauldron, and in time the world believes in a "corpse-factory," in which the barbarous Huns boil down the fat of their dead.

The growth of another Press legend was described by Mr. Ponsonby in the *Union of Democratic Control*, of September, 1917. When Antwerp fell to the German forces, on the rush through Belgium, the *Kölnische Zeitung* of Cologne reported that the church bells (in Germany) were rung. In Paris the *Matin* reported that "according to the *Kölnische Zeitung*" the Belgian clergy of Antwerp were compelled to ring the bells when their fortress fell. The London *Times* followed with the statement that "according to what the *Matin* has heard



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from Cologne, the Belgian priests who refused to ring the church bells when Antwerp was taken have been driven away from their places." In Italy the *Corriere della Sera* of Milan passed on the word in this form: "According to what the *Times* has heard from Cologne via Paris the unfortunate Belgian priests who refused to ring the Church bells when Antwerp was taken have been sentenced to hard labour." The legend reached maturity with the declaration of the *Matin* that "according to information to the *Corriere della Sera* from Cologne via London, it is confirmed that the barbaric conquerors of Antwerp punished the unfortunate Belgian priests for their heroic refusal to ring the church bells by hanging them as living clappers to the bells with their heads down."

The atrocity tales that did service during the Great War have been repeatedly denied by those who are qualified to



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speak. Premier Nitti of Italy came out early with a protest against the story that Germans cut off the hands of Belgian children. "There was no truth in the story, and there are no more handless babies in Belgium than there are in England or in Germany. The news was false, but the most reputable papers published it; telegraphic agencies spread it broadcast, and thus nourished the mistrust of the world. . . Lloyd George . . . sent me word that he had not been able to trace a single case of a child's hand having been cut off, in all Belgium.<sup>8</sup>

Admiral Sims spoke similarly concerning the lurid tales of German submarine commanders and their brutality. Writing in the *Current History Magazine*, June, 1923, he said: "Within the past few months, in speaking to various audiences of the operations of the German submarines, I have stated that . . . most of the

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<sup>8</sup>*The Decadence of Europe*, p. 138.

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accounts of atrocities popularly attributed to them were untrue; that barring the case of the hospital ship, *Llandovery Castle*, I did not know of any case where a German submarine commander deliberately fired upon the boats of a torpedoed vessel; that the commanding officer and two other officers of the submarine that torpedoed that vessel were tried in Germany after the war and punished; that the submarine commanders generally acted in a humane manner in carrying out the orders of their Government."

We are not contending that there were no German atrocities in the recent war; we are contending that war itself is an atrocity, that no army keeps the laws of war if necessity seems to require their violation, and that propaganda creates enemy atrocities while concealing one's own. Students for the Christian ministry, in the Canadian Corps, were asked

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concerning the bombing by German air-men of the hospital at Etaples. They explained that, in violation of the rules of warfare, the hut hospitals had been crowded between two legitimate objects of attack, the Calais-Paris Railway and the great reinforcement camp on the sandhills above, and that warnings had been given that these objects would not be spared because of the proximity of a hospital.

The fighting men found out in time the truth about enemy soldiers, and how identical their necessities and their sins were with their own; and they became intelligent also about propaganda; but the civilian population in all lands believed, perhaps still believe, what they were told by their leaders; and that made a sane peace impossible. In the spring of 1919 Mr. Lloyd George, then British Prime Minister, presented to his colleagues at Versailles a memorandum,

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setting forth the principles of a sane peace. He urged four things as tending to future security,—that the indemnity demanded of the enemy be moderate, that as few Germans as possible be transferred to foreign rule, that there should be a concerted movement towards disarmament, that there should be a real League of Nations. The reasons advanced by Mr. Lloyd George, who knows the business of war thoroughly, are very significant. He urges moderation and a spirit of justice, because after four years of war to end war there is a spirit of revolution in every country of Europe; because all armies are so disillusioned, after a four-years' crusade for righteousness, that Europe may be left to the mercy of a Russian Red Army—"the only army eager to fight, because it is the only army that believes that it has any cause to fight for"; because a manifestly oppres-

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sive peace would result in "Spartacism from the Urals to the Rhine."<sup>9</sup>

Mr. Lloyd George is a prescient man, and his forecast is being justified by events; but one thing he had overlooked when he submitted his memorandum—the British public had been deceived for four years about the enemy; they had been taught that all Germans will sink a *Lusitania* without compunction and mutilate children and violate women and murder prisoners; this long propaganda had just culminated in a whirlwind election, won by a promise to "hang the Kaiser" and "make Germany pay;" and the mentality thus induced cannot be changed in a day or a decade. Four hundred members of Parliament, elected to exact vengeance, sent a telegram to the Prime Minister at Versailles, reminding him that the existing Parliament was

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<sup>9</sup>A digest of this memorandum may be read in Lowes Dickinson, pp. 104-109.

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not elected on a platform of gentleness. The French national hero, nicknamed the "Tiger," reminded him that when they had done to Germany the least they were likely to do she would think of nothing but revenge. President Wilson was outmanoeuvred and hoodwinked, and Europe received a peace consonant with her methods in war. She has now several Alsace-Lorraines; and nations that fought for justice and the freedom of small States have left Armenia to her ghastly fate, because after four years of blood-brotherhood they could not compose their rival claims. Great nations sometimes desire at the beginning of a war to "execute judgment and justice in the earth"; they never do it at the end.

(iv) Because all these things are so—because war makes no distinction between innocent and guilty and is itself the mother of all kinds of wrong, because it debases the race, because it indisposes

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people to desire righteous settlements—war tends to sow the seeds of future conflicts. Indeed, if one except economic imperialism alone, and if one distinguish between occasions and causes, war is itself the most fruitful cause of war. During the past hundred years the race has endured more than forty international wars, to take no account of revolts, expeditions, or wars between small and remote states. A study of such causes as are easily discoverable is instructive. From the Crimean War, 1854-1856, came in direct lineal descent the Franco-Austrian War of 1859, the Danish War of 1864, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and the Russo-Turkish War of 1878.

How could it be otherwise? Wars breed hatred and debasement, and are adjourned by treaties that do not regard righteousness. And the war treaties of Europe have seldom been observed. Why



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should they be? They are no more morally binding than the recantations and confessions extracted by the Inquisition. "And so to the end of history, murder shall breed murder, always in the name of right and honour and peace, until the gods are tired of blood and create a race that can understand."

But it is not in the nature of Christianity to despair of mankind; and so we repeat that war never can serve Christian ends, and inquire what Christian men and institutions ought to do about it.



## CHAPTER VI.

# Christian Men and Institutions must Discover and Report the Facts Concerning War

“He asked me what were the usual causes or motives that made one country go to war with another. I answered they were innumerable, but I should only mention a few of the chief. Sometimes the ambition of princes, who never think they have land or people enough to govern; sometimes the corruption of ministers, who engage their master in a war in order to stifle or divert the clamour of the subjects against their evil administration . . . Sometimes the quarrel between two princes is to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretend to any right. Sometimes one prince quarrelleth with another for fear the other should quarrel with him. Sometimes a war is entered upon because the enemy is too strong, and sometimes because he is too weak. Sometimes our neighbours want the thing which we have or have the thing which we want; and we both fight, till they take ours or give us theirs . . . If a prince sends forth into a nation, where the people are poor and

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ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to death and make slaves of the rest, in order to civilize and reduce them from their barbarous way of living . . . Poor nations are hungry, and rich nations are proud; and pride and hunger will ever be at variance."—Swift.

IF war is anti-Christian, as we believe, then Christian men, at least, ought to become intelligent about war. It will not do that Christian men continue to devote so much time and energy to Christian ends, only to embrace this enemy of Christ whenever their respective nations are thrown into anger or panic. Indeed it would seem that all men, whether Christian or not, ought to become intelligent about war. Humanity has been advancing, by long and tedious marches, to political democracy. Already in vast areas it is achieved; that it will yet be achieved everywhere no one can doubt. Political democracy will come by sheer weight of numbers, whatever resistance may be offered. And social and economic

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democracy are coming in the same way. *Demos* is becoming his own master, and a race that is self-governed ought to be informed and wise.

But there is no great human interest concerning which most men can as yet inform themselves. They are too preoccupied, or too remote from the sources of knowledge, or too little disposed to endure the discipline of observation and reflection, or too little capable of self-expression. Most people may plead some mental or moral or physical disability. Even the chemists, to whom it is chiefly due that mankind can now commit suicide in war, may plead that they have nothing to do with the uses to which their tools are put by the State, or that as patriots they owe their services to the Government.

The nominal Christian leaders of society may also assume this *non possumus* attitude. They may say: The question

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of war has nothing to do with religion; which would seem to involve that what deeply concerns humanity may yet be no concern of God. Let us suppose that this is so; that God is served by the observance of holy days, by a ritual of worship, by the voice of prayer and skilful music, in chaste cathedrals even where no people are. Let us suppose also that the duty of religious leaders to their fellows is to instruct them how to make their calling and election sure. May it not still be urged that the Christian ministry and the Christian Church has some special obligation in the matter of war? With any view of religion, the Christian ministry is especially equipped by education, by accessibility, by the gift of utterance and a place to speak, to lend a guiding hand, wherever men stumble or the way is dark. Your mediæval bishop sometimes organized the people to repair the roads, or restore the bridges, or stay

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the plague, or defend the city; not because these were episcopal functions, but because the means of help were in the bishop's hands.

And so we urge that, whatever view one may take of the Christian ethic, or the nature of religion, or the function of government, or what not, humanity, in just that part of the world that is called Christian, is in desperate peril from war. We urge that to those Christian men and institutions that accept, in general, the view we have taken of the Christian life, their duty is plain. We urge that Christian ministers and institutions, whatever they may conceive their distinctive functions to be, are especially called, by human need and their own equipment, to lend a hand. The Christian Church ought to concert measures for the education of the whole Christian community as to the causes and methods and results of war.

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The immediate causes of war are not difficult to determine. First, there are national sentiments, which dispose all peoples to support their governments in moments of danger; group loyalties, which will not permit that comrades go forth alone to war; and devotion to duty, which is often hard to determine and must be prescribed by some constituted authority. And there is also the spirit of adventure, which is notoriously of short memory, and which sweeps the unthinking of all ages into the maelstrom. These constitute a reserve fund of moral resources, upon which national leaders, wise and unwise, scrupulous and unscrupulous, can always draw, for the execution of new undertakings, so long as these undertakings can be given some modest cloak of morality.

But these moral resources would be less available for war, and would not encourage aggression or recklessness in

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political and military leaders, were it not that the nations of the world live in fear of each other. Britons are well aware of the fear of German designs that spread through the Empire during the decade before the Great War; they are less aware of the German fear of Russian designs and of those of the whole Triple Entente. In 1911 Lord Fisher wrote: "I happen to know in a curious way (but quite certainly) that the Germans are in a blue funk of the British navy."<sup>1</sup> Soon afterwards Colonel Repington said: "The possibility of a war on two fronts is the nightmare of German strategists, and considering the pace at which Russia has been building up her field armies since 1905, the nightmare is not likely to be soon conjured away."<sup>2</sup> When Bishop Boyd Carpenter visited the Kaiser in June, 1913, he found him appre-

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in E. D. Morel, *Diplomacy Revealed*, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.* p. 270.



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hensive. "He was quite cordial," said the Bishop, "but he spoke with a note which was new to me. He seemed apprehensive. He spoke of the dangerous position in which Germany was placed between two powers which might prove hostile. When I left him I felt that he was under the influence of a great fear."<sup>3</sup> Lord Haldane spoke similarly of German trepidation when the war was over, as did also Viscount Bryce, not to speak of Mr. Gerard, American Ambassador to Berlin.

What was true of Great Britain and Germany was true of most of the nations of Europe, and of all the Great Powers. When Mr. Churchill, in 1913, proposed to Germany "a naval holiday," Mr. Asquith had to cross to France to counteract the alarm felt in Paris; and Sir Edward Grey, in June, 1914, dared not join

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<sup>3</sup>Boyd Carpenter, *Further Pages of My Life*, pp. 263-294.



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Colonel House in a peace mission to Germany, through fear of French apprehension.<sup>4</sup> The state of mind was not different in Austria. In December, 1913, the French Ambassador to Vienna reported that "Austria finds herself in an *impasse*, without knowing how she is to escape. Thus the feeling that the nations are moving towards a conflict, urged by an irresistible force, grows from day to day."<sup>1</sup>

But fear is near neighbour to madness, and induces wild thinking and conduct. So that wars will continue to threaten, while nations or leaders continue to live "under the influence of a great fear."

One is led therefore to ask why the nations of the world live in fear of each other; and the answer is found in that

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<sup>4</sup>Hendrick, *Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, I, 277, 298.

<sup>1</sup>Poincaré, *Les Origines de la Guerre*, 177.

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preparedness for war, which is everywhere in the western world accepted as a political axiom. Before the recent struggle all the great western Powers were heavily armed. They thought and spoke of security only in terms of war. The struggle for military supremacy was an increasing tax on the resources of all peoples, and could not continue indefinitely. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to say who was chiefly responsible for the mad rivalry. It was the Czar who gathered the leading nations to the Hague in 1899 to discuss the reduction of armaments, and Germany that made the discussion abortive. It was the German Navy Law of 1900 and provocative utterances of the Kaiser that led to the establishment of a new naval base for Britain at Rosyth, quickened British naval construction, and led to the concentration of her naval strength in home waters. Germany could plead, in one case, sus-

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picion of Russia's good faith,<sup>2</sup> and in the other case, that the new naval programme of Germany would still leave her fleet fourth or fifth on the list, that she had long been alarmed at the strength of the British fleet, and that articles in the *Army and Navy Gazette* and occasional utterances of British ministers justified her alarm. In any case, the policy of preparedness was the policy of all the Great Powers; and, if one may judge from the official expenditure for war, Japan was least warlike of all.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Later revelations of Premier Witte gave colour to German suspicions. He informs us that the Russian war minister, Kuropatkin, pointed out to the Tsar how superior German and French artillery was to that of Russia and Austria, and that he himself advised the Tsar of the vast cost to Russia of overcoming this disparity and of the advantage of proposing the limitation of armaments instead. See Dillon, *Eclipse of Russia*, 269-278.

<sup>3</sup>The Bankers Trust Company of New York, in its campaign for national economy, issued in 1922 an analysis of the war expenditures of the leading nations of the world, under the title *French Public Finance* written by Harvey E. Fisk.

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All countries are impoverished by militarism. In the United States, with her relative security, the provision for past and future wars absorbed ninety-three per cent. of the national income in 1920; it frequently rises as high as eighty per cent. "If a manufacturer devoted 80 per cent of his total income . . . to paying insurance premiums, his creditors would soon intervene, and his case would also receive the attention of an expert alienist."<sup>4</sup>

But we are primarily concerned here with militarism as a cause of war. And to begin with, the first axiom of militarism is a palpable falsehood. That axiom is that the way to secure peace is to be so strong that no nation will dare attack you. But obviously such a road to peace is not open to most nations. Small nations, in the final analysis, must depend

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<sup>4</sup>Frank I. Cobb, editor of the *New York World*, in the *Congressional Record*, Sept. 21, 1921.

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on either the decency or the mutual jealousies of their large neighbours. And as for the Great Powers, only one nation, or one combination of nations, can reach superiority; the rest, of necessity, live in fear. Of course, in the view of each nation, no other nation need fear its superior strength, because its aims are wholly defensive. But that is not how the nations have learned to regard the aims of each other; and with good reason. The defensive wars of the British Empire, in the last generation of the nineteenth century, added to her domain nearly 5,000,000 square miles of territory and 90,000,000 people. France, in repelling assaults upon her national honour or security, during the same period, added to her domain 3,600,000 square miles and 77,000,000 people. Germany added 1,000,000 square miles and 17,000,000 people. All the Great Powers of Europe acquired what they could. To Great Bri-

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tain her long insistence on a two-Power standard of naval strength seemed only a legitimate demand for security; to other nations it seemed an ambition to be able, in the event of war, to seize their outposts and strangle their commerce, and in peace to acquire what she wanted. To Germany a superior army appeared only as a necessary defence for her long land frontiers, and a strong navy only as a means of winning respect in the world; to the other nations they appeared as the instruments of a contemplated pan-Germanism.

Thus the mad rivalry goes on. Armaments create counter-armaments, and these in turn create greater armaments, in an endless cycle of waste and futility. Nations live in fear of each other, and this fear is encouraged in all nations by foolish men and self-seeking men. Governments that depend on armaments cannot see the manufacture of arma-

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ments languish and die; the manufacturers of armaments cannot carry on without business. A Commission of the League of Nations submitted to that body, September 15, 1921, six reasons against the free, private manufacture of arms. They were:

That armament firms have been active in fomenting war-scares and in persuading their own countries to adopt warlike policies and to increase their armaments;

That armament firms have attempted to bribe government officials, both at home and abroad;

That armament firms have disseminated false reports concerning the military and naval programme of various countries in order to stimulate armament expenditure;

That armament firms have sought to influence public opinion through the control of newspapers in their own and foreign countries;



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That armament firms have organized international armament rings through which the armament race has been accentuated by playing off one country against another ;

That armament firms have organized international armament trusts which have increased the price of armaments sold to governments.

And what armament firms are doing, perhaps of necessity, is being done by other groups in all nations, whose sole business is fighting, and who are encouraged by history, and disposed by social tradition and self-interest, to the view that only by fighting can nations be secure. The mediæval knight, having usually no intellectual interests, being unable either to read or to write, despising business and being indisposed to agriculture, had no business but fighting; and that business was adorned by the picturesque code of knightly chivalry.



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But the activities of knighthood in time threatened European society with extinction; and, with the aid of the Church, were subordinated to central, national authorities. Knights became the personal servants of the king, and their martial activities were limited to wars against other nationals than their own. The traditions of knighthood survive in the world, though precariously where kingship has disappeared; while the amenities of knighthood are disappearing before the necessities of new conditions of warfare. Society must be on its guard against men whose sole business is fighting. We have fairly discouraged the German Junker; we have not yet dealt with our own. Lord Fisher, one of the greatest of British sailors and First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, advised King Edward VII in 1908 that it would be "simply a sagacious act on England's part to seize the German fleet" without

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any declaration of war, and he cited as a precedent Nelson's similar destruction of the Danish Fleet at Copenhagen.<sup>5</sup> In 1912 he wrote to Lord Esher: "It's quite silly not to make war damnable to the whole mass of your enemy's population. . . . When war comes 'Might is Right' and the Admiralty will know what to do."<sup>6</sup> Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, in his famous *Message to the Nation*, uttered at Manchester in 1912, said: "Germany strikes when Germany's hour has struck. . . . And, gentlemen, it is an excellent policy. It is, or should be, the policy of every nation prepared to play a great part in history. . . . For how was this Empire of Britain founded? War founded this Empire—war and conquest! . . . Who amongst us, knowing the past of this nation, and the past of all nations

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<sup>5</sup>*Memories and Records*, by Admiral of the Fleet, Lord Fisher, Vol. I, 34, 35.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid*, I, 209, 210.

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and cities that have ever added the lustre of their name to human annals, can accuse Germany or regard the utterance of one of her greatest chancellors a year and a half ago, or of General Bernhardi three months ago, with any feelings except those of respect."

This is the situation, as viewed by one of the most chivalrous of English professional soldiers. One less chivalrous, author of several books on war, goes farther. "To anathematize war," he says, "is to gibber like a fool, and to declare it unreasonable is to twaddle like a pedant. . . Without war there would be no driving out of the money-lenders from the temple of existence. . . War is a great physician, a great medicine, a great purge. . . The nation which depends for the security of its honour on some international police force has become but a kept-woman among nations." After this, one is not sur-

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prised that Col. Fuller does not contemplate that any nation shall grow in virtue but his own; the enemy is to be reduced to swift insanity. "The present implements of war must be scrapped," he says, "and these bloody tools must be replaced by weapons the moral effect of which is so terrible that a nation attacked by them will lose its mental balance."<sup>7</sup> On Col. Fuller's plan there will be left but one virtuous nation in the world, and it will be a brute.

There is no need to dwell upon this madness. It is best answered by the fine reticence of our veterans. But it is well to remember that popular heroes, like Lord Fisher, do hold such sentiments; that it is such men who make the military commitments of nations, without their knowledge; and that these commitments are often such that, in the face of

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<sup>7</sup>Col. J. F. C. Fuller, D.S.O., *The Reformation of War*, p. 14. Similarly pp. 41, 64, 282.

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imminent danger, the almost automatic movements of the military machine put it promptly out of control. Mr. Lloyd George said, after the Great War: "The more one examines . . . the events of July, 1914, the more one is impressed with the shrinking of the nominal rulers of the attacking empires as they approached the abyss, and with the relentless driving onward of the military organization behind those terror-stricken dummies."<sup>8</sup>

Herein is a thing to be pondered. Out of the confusion and chaos of 1914 some things do clearly emerge. One is that in the most critical hours in the history of western civilization governments and their representatives may lose control. Sir Edward Grey, who laboured for peace to the last, does not believe that any government authority among the Great Powers desired war. "That the Tsar, or Sazonof, or anyone who had a decisive

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<sup>8</sup>David Lloyd George, *Where Are We Going?* p. 52.

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word in Russia was planning to provoke or to make war I do not believe.”<sup>9</sup> Similarly with Germany—“I believe that neither the Emperor nor Bethmann-Hollweg nor Jagow planned or desired war.”<sup>10</sup> Yet Sir Edward found himself as completely baffled in his appeals to Berlin as if the wires were down. “The fact is, that in dealing with Chancellors and Secretaries for Foreign Affairs at Berlin, we could make no progress, because we were not dealing with the men who really directed policy. The last and decisive word was with some military or naval person.”<sup>11</sup> It was the same at Vienna. “It would have made no difference if we had dealt at Vienna as strenuously as at Berlin. We could have dealt only with Berchthold, the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Vienna, and he

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<sup>9</sup>Viscount Grey, *Twenty-five Years*, 1892-1916, II, 25.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.* II, 26.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.* II, 50.

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seems not to have counted at all. The military elements in Austria-Hungary had been set in their course by encouragement to take a stiff line with Serbia. Nothing but a decisive word from military elements in Berlin would have pulled them up."<sup>12</sup>

"More than one true thing may be said about the causes of the war, but the statement that comprises most truth is that militarism and the armaments inseparable from it made war inevitable."<sup>13</sup> To be always prepared for war is to deliver one's destiny, in critical moments, into the keeping of men whose business is war, who want war, and who are generally impatient of the slower processes of conference and moral appeal.

Again, among the immediate causes of war is secret diplomacy. Without its activity, precipitating crises, military

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<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.* II, 35.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.* II, 53.



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leadership could not plunge great nations into war. Except in Tsarist Russia alone, some show of parliamentary control has long been necessary to public acquiescence in war; but this control is often more apparent than real. In the most democratic countries in the world both parliament and public are still kept in ignorance of the doings of their Foreign Offices. Here the great political democracies are still autocracies, or very narrow oligarchies; and peoples have to execute decisions reached without their knowledge.

The execution of these decisions did not precipitate a general war until 1914; it might equally well have done so on several occasions during the preceding generation. The French invasion of Tunis in 1881 and the establishment of a French Protectorate did not follow parliamentary action. It came after secret conversations of French ministers with Salis-



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bury and Bismarck and deceptive assurances to Italian ministers; and it did not cause war only because neither the Sultan nor Italy could risk a war. As it was, the French action in Tunis did drive Italy into the arms of Austria and Germany and hasten the division of Europe into two hostile camps.<sup>14</sup> The Austro-Italian-English agreement of 1887, for the maintenance of the independence of Turkey, or the occupation of Ottoman territory if the Sultan should himself compromise her independence, was unwelcome to Russian leaders, and was entered into by Austria in expectation of war with Russia. Yet it was the subject of no parliamentary discussion, and questions in the British Parliament brought only evasive replies.<sup>15</sup> The Anglo-Congolese Treaty of 1894, which leased to King Leopold for life the Bahr-el-Ghazel

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<sup>14</sup>For a brief history of the affair see G. P. Gooch, *History of Modern Europe*, 59-63.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.* 150-151.

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district on the Upper Nile, in return for a right-of-way for the proposed Cape to Cairo railway, was effected by secret negotiations. On one side it leased lands which were in the territory of the Sultan and the Khedive, and to which Britain had no title; on the other it violated the Congo-German Treaty of 1884. Both Germany and France protested, and Great Britain released Leopold from the Treaty; but British and French counter-activities had been started, which culminated in the Marchand expedition, and brought the two countries to the brink of war. Yet the provocative negotiations were the work of persons, not of parliaments or peoples.<sup>16</sup>

Such events were numerous and full of peril. The French annexation of Madagascar in 1898, the negotiations of Tsar and Kaiser in 1904 for a Franco-German-Russian alliance against Great Britain,

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<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.* 209, 271-281.

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the demonstration of the Kaiser in Morocco at Tangier in 1905, the bitter Conference of Algenciras in 1905, the Austrian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908, the Serbo-Bulgar pact in 1912, recognizing Russia as the arbitrator of the Balkan Slav States — any one of these could have precipitated war as readily as did the murders at Serajevo — if the rivals had felt prepared. Yet these were the work of persons, not of parliaments or peoples. The Great War itself could have been averted, had not secret diplomacy been at work. Austria was set in her fatal course by private assurances from the Kaiser and his Chancellor that she would be supported in dealing strongly with Serbia. Before she awoke to the danger control had passed from the diplomat to the warrior.

It is idle to attempt now to apportion to the nations the blame for the Great War. The facts cannot all be known;

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and men of integrity, who played premier roles in the tragedy, differ as to both the facts and their interpretation. Count Andrassy, late Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, was quite sure that "the heaviest burden of responsibility must be borne by Russia, because she positively fostered Serbian aggression and she took the last and decisive step prior to the outbreak of war."<sup>17</sup> Viscount Grey is reasonably sure that the primary responsibility rested on Germany—"If German opinion did not desire war, it was at least content to leave the conduct of affairs in the hands of the Emperor and the powers behind the throne, whoever they might be."<sup>18</sup>

It is idle to attempt to apportion blame for the Great War; but the opinions just quoted remind one that apportionment by diplomats is almost sure to be un-

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<sup>17</sup>Count Julius Andrassy, *Diplomacy and the War*, 82.

<sup>18</sup>Grey, II, 24.

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just; that, as Viscount Grey says, "it is precisely the man at the centre who is often unable to see the wood for the trees." It is the practice of diplomats to describe their actions and opinions as those of their nations, and to attribute to other nations the actions and opinions of persons. Count Andrassy lays the crime of the War at the door of "Russia," and Viscount Grey at the door of "German opinion." But Tsarist Russia never had any control of her foreign relations, and very little of her domestic relations, as the brief history of the Duma makes clear. And as for "German opinion," Viscount Grey, with his knowledge of British history and the honourable part of his family therein, could hardly have been unaware how slowly popular opinion makes itself effective against existing institutions and methods, how long the "conduct of affairs" continues in the hands of the few after the many have

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ceased to be "content to leave" it there. The industrial revolution in England and the distresses of the Napoleonic War made inevitable the reform of Parliament and the establishment of political democracy; but the first short steps towards political democracy were not taken until the *Reform Bill* of 1832, after experiments in repression, the fall of Ministries, and riots throughout the land. Even then the era of popular control did not begin until after the *Reform Bill* of 1867, and a century elapsed before the evolution was reasonably completed by the *Reform Bill* of 1884, the *Parliament Act* of 1911, the *Representation of the People Act* of 1918. And in the end the British nation has yet no effective control of its foreign relations.

Contemporary historians are qualifying the judgments of the men at the centre about most things relating to the Great War, and not least about international

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diplomacy. Viscount Grey is quite sure that "it was not the old diplomacy that was to blame for the war,"<sup>19</sup> it was "militarism and the armaments inseparable from it." But this is like judging between the powder and the match, and holding the match to be innocent. However militarism may get out of hand in critical moments, military establishments are themselves created by parliaments, in support of international policies, and these bring us back to the secret ways of diplomacy. And here one cannot long be in doubt. It is impossible to read a history of European diplomacy since 1878 without sickening with conviction that war was bound to come sometime, and that parliaments would have little voice, and peoples still less, in determining the hour and the issue.<sup>20</sup> The diplomacy of the Congress of Berlin

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<sup>19</sup>Grey, II, 277.

<sup>20</sup>The best history is that by G. P. Gooch, already cited.



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settled nothing in the Balkans and irritated most of the Capitals of Europe. That was inevitable; for the settlement embodied, not principles but the conflicting interests of various imperialisms. Anger was greatest in Russia. She had successfully supported the Balkan Christian States against Turkey, only to see herself stripped of the fruits of victory at the council table. "It is disgraceful treachery to the historic mission of Russia," said Ivan Aksakoff, "and has lost forever the respect and affection of the Slavs." Russian anger turned particularly against Germany, which was conceived to have left her in the lurch. Violent articles in the official Russian Press proclaimed that the road to Constantinople now lay through Berlin, and the War Office worked openly for an alliance with France.

The hostility of Russia led to a new orientation of German policy. Bis-



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marck turned to Austria and formed a Dual Alliance in 1879, for the maintenance of the Berlin settlement. The terms of the treaty were not published until 1888, but the Tsar knew he had received a body blow, and all Europe knew that a momentous change in the international situation had come. "The idea of coalitions gives me nightmares," Bismarck had said a few months before; and Great Britain too preferred a policy of "splendid isolation"; but before the repercussions of Bismarck's conversion reached their height, continental Europe was divided into two political camps, with a Franco-Russian coalition facing a German-Austrian coalition, to which also Italy was doubtfully attached. British political leadership was paralysed by fear of a general European war, in which she should have no friend but Italy, an Italy already pledged in alliance elsewhere. British statesmen reached out

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for alliances. Chamberlain worked for an Anglo-German alliance, but without response in Germany; and British thoughts then turned to France. Repeated negotiations settled the outstanding differences between the two nations in Egypt and Africa; and the work was crowned by an *Entente Cordiale* in 1905. Under encouragement from France, Britain and Russia then drew together; and in 1907 a Triple Entente of Britain, France and Russia faced a Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy, across the chess board of Europe.

The terms of most of the constituent alliances were not publicly known. The French public did not know the terms of its alliance with Russia; nor did the British. "We are not parties to the Franco-Russian Alliance," said Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons on August 3, 1914, "We do not even know the terms

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of that Alliance.”<sup>21</sup> The Russian people was totally in the dark; an Anglo-French loan to the Russian Government in 1906 had enabled it to dissolve the Duma and carry on without a pretence of representative government. Russian liberals had protested that this would happen, and the London *Times* complained after the event: “The Government’s arbitrary step justifies only too completely the reformers (Russian) who besought the friends of constitutional liberty in the West not to lend more money to the autocracy.”

These secret alliances were supported on both sides by secret military and naval arrangements, which filled both camps with forebodings. The British and French Military Staffs collaborated from 1906 until 1914; though the British Cabinet as a whole was not aware of it until

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<sup>21</sup>Grey, II, 213.

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1912.<sup>22</sup> In May and June, 1914, naval "conversations" were held between the British and Russian Naval Staffs, by request of the Russian Foreign Office, conveyed through the French Government. The German newspapers published agitated accounts of these conversations, and the Russian Government denied that they had occurred. The Russian Ambassador in London, knowing the integrity of Sir Edward Grey, advised his Government that Sir Edward would "find it difficult to issue a denial and go on negotiating at the same time;" but Sir Edward did succeed, without falsehood, in evading the issue, when interpolated in Parliament.<sup>23</sup>

One result of a generation of secret diplomacy before 1914, and the military and naval dispositions involved, was that, if any great nation should precipitate a

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<sup>22</sup>Grey, I, 72-76, 83-85, 93-95.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.* I, 273-280.

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war, for whatever cause, all other nations were helpless to keep out. And some nation was sure to precipitate a war, because all felt a war to be inevitable. Peoples dreaded each other's armaments, and Foreign Offices assumed each other's evil intentions.<sup>24</sup> To precipitate a war was only to strike before one was struck. So that any Government choosing a favourable moment for aggression could yet defend it as an "offensive-defensive" war.<sup>25</sup> But when war came, all must come in. Austria was necessary to the security of Germany; if she went to war with Russia, Germany could not see her crushed. Russia had been thwarted in the Balkans, beaten by little Japan, affronted by the Austrian annexation of the Slavic provinces of Bosnia-Herzegovina; she could not yield again

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<sup>24</sup>This was particularly true of Russia and Germany, least true of Britain.

<sup>25</sup>This is the position of some German apologists for Germany's part in the War.

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to a Teutonic menace without losing her prestige as a world power and the protector of the Slavic peoples. But Russia was the chief security of France, in her dread of the growing German power. If Russia were beaten France stood alone on the continent, awaiting the inevitable subserviency or destruction. And as for Great Britain, the one thing necessary to her in Europe was the continued independence of Belgium and France. Germany, with her existing short coast line, could not successfully challenge British sea power; but Germany, in control of the south shore of the Channel, could shut her off from the continent and threaten her sea lanes everywhere, perhaps reach her in her own island home.

The diplomacy which worked for a "balance of power" in Europe made the war of one the war of all, and the last chance for British abstention was lost through the secret dispositions of her Military and

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Naval Staffs, made with the consent of the Foreign Office. By arrangement with London the naval strength of France in 1914 was concentrated in the Mediterranean, to meet all possible dangers from Austria and Italy; and her channel ports were defenceless—unless Britain should defend them. Without British participation, the first day of the conflict would see the German fleet in the English Channel, the French flank threatened, the British nation cut off from the continent, and the war at Britain's front door. Early or late, Britain was bound by her own commitments to participate in any war in which France was engaged with Germany,<sup>26</sup> and she was equally

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<sup>26</sup>The German Government did try to purchase the neutrality of Britain by promising immunity to the channel ports of France. Later events make it unlikely that such a promise would have been kept; and in any case Britain as a neutral could not have prevented German naval activities in the Channel, with the destruction of British commerce, nor could she have prevented the conquest of the French coast from the land.



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bound whether her enemies or her allies should prove to be in the wrong.

This is, of course, not the view of British diplomacy. Sir Edward Grey laboured to prove that Parliament was quite free to decide. What he meant was that nothing in the canons of international diplomacy prevented Parliament from deciding; that he and others had not usurped the functions of Parliament in the matter of treaty obligations. It is quite clear that they had not done so;<sup>27</sup> but it is equally clear that a generation of diplomacy had placed Britain where she must fight for her life, no matter who started a war or why. This is indeed the unconscious logic of Sir Edward's own statement to Parliament on the eve of the conflict. He felt that if a hostile fleet "came down the English channel and bombarded and battered the undefended coasts of France," British popular feel-

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<sup>27</sup>Grey, I, 74, 95, 274-76, 279, 280, 285, 329; II, 310-12.



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ing would compel intervention; but he also wanted, he said, "to look at the matter without sentiment, and from the point of view of British interests." From that point of view, he said, Britain could not leave France to divert her naval strength from the Mediterranean to the Channel and the Atlantic, because that would leave British trade routes in the Mediterranean imperilled. From the same point of view, Britain could not see the independence of Belgium destroyed—"We have great and vital interests in the independence . . . of Belgium . . . If her independence goes, the independence of Holland will follow. I ask the House, from the point of view of British interests, to consider what may be at stake. If France is beaten in a struggle of life and death, . . . and if Belgium fell under the same dominating influence, and then Holland, and then Denmark," then the position of Great Britain would be des-

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perate. Finally, there was the consideration that Great Britain could not, if she stood aside, preserve her strength unimpaired for whatever eventualities might come—"If we are engaged in war, we shall suffer but little more than if we stand aside."<sup>28</sup>

This is not to say that Sir Edward Grey would be indifferent to the moral obligations involved in the treaty of 1839, guaranteeing the integrity of Belgium. He felt, as Gladstone had felt, and as most Englishmen would feel, the shame that would come if Britain should prove indifferent to her pledge; but Gladstone himself, as Sir Edward reminds us, had not held the obligation to Belgium to be absolute—"I am not able to subscribe to the doctrine . . . that the simple fact of the existence of a guarantee is binding on every party to it, irrespective altogether of the particular position in which

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<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.* II, 313-322.

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it may find itself at the time when the occasion for acting on the guarantee arises. The great authorities on foreign policy to whom I have been accustomed to listen, such as Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston, never to my knowledge took that rigid, and if I may venture to say so, that impracticable view of the guarantee."<sup>29</sup> With Gladstone, as with Grey, the decisive consideration was national necessity. The Parliament of Great Britain carried the nation into the war, as did those of Germany and France, because the situation created by a generation of European diplomacy left her no alternative. The policy of a balance of power, supported by armed force, involved that if a few foolish men, or wicked men, in strategic positions in either Russia or Austria, began setting fires in the dark, the whole continent would be caught in the conflagration, and the ex-

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<sup>29</sup>Grey, II, 318.

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planations publicly given would not be the real ones. Each government would require some moral appeal, to rally and sustain its people, and when the conflagration came each Government found some moral appeal. The man in the street, if he will, can now judge for himself whether the case was ever as stated. He need not acquaint himself with the history of European diplomacy for a century; he need only read, in two or three small volumes, the documentary evidence available for the decade before 1914.<sup>30</sup> It is abundantly clear that, in the case of Great Britain, the moral wrong done in the invasion of Belgium was not the cause, was hardly one of the causes, of her entry into the Great War; that the violation of Belgium came, very fortunately for the Government, to provide it with a

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<sup>30</sup>To books already cited add M. Bogitschevitch, *Causes of the War*. The author is a former Serbian diplomatist, and annexed to his volume are important documents.

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ground of moral appeal to the nation, which had been progressively bound for years, sometimes without its own knowledge or that of Parliament. It was a just remark of Lord Chancellor Loreburn in 1919—"France was bound by a Russian treaty of which we did not know the terms, and then France called on us for help. We were tied by the relations which our Foreign Office had created, without apparently realizing that they had created them . . . When the most momentous decision of our whole history had to be taken we were not free to decide."<sup>31</sup> The French democracy was in similar case, and the Russian people had no voice at all. When unscrupulous men in Belgrade and Vienna, St. Petersburg and Berlin, set fire to the social structure of Europe, the peoples could neither isolate themselves, nor discover the centre of the conflagra-

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<sup>31</sup>Lord Loreburn, *How the War Came*, p. 16.

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tion, nor combine to fight it; they could only fight each other, as mobs do when caught in a conflagration.

It is not that the diplomats of Europe before 1914 were all wicked; though some of them were. It is rather that they were but men, playing a game long indulged in, according to rules long accepted, but with forces beyond their power to control, and issues beyond their wisdom to calculate. The Kaiser was a megalomaniac, the Tsar a weakling, Berchthold "headstrong and incapable," and all three were contemptuous of democracy. Of the others, the best were but men; and in their hands lay the life of a continent.

Many groups, including some religious organizations, are now agreed that honourable ends, pursued by honourable means, ought to be attained in the daylight; and that no handful of men in the western world are good enough or

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wise enough to be entrusted with the responsibility of assuming in darkness obligations that mankind must discharge in the light.

Such then are the immediate causes of war. It is national fears and sentiments, group loyalties and devotion to duties difficult to analyse and define, the spirit of adventure, the policy of preparedness, secret diplomacy,—it is these things which, as we approach danger, drive us forward into the abyss. But back of these are other forces, always operative, undermining the will to peace, and preparing us to be dumb, driven sheep, rather than resolute directors of destiny, as we see the evil day approach.

Here we digress, that we may mention first, only to dismiss, an alleged cause of war, in which unthinking men unhappily believe. It is said that war springs out of some deep necessity of human life,



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some powerful instinct of human nature; and that war will continue therefore "so long as human nature is what it is," or men continue to be "red-blooded." An obvious rejoinder is that there are less costly ways of providing for this necessary expression of red-bloodedness, ways that do not involve the dreadful wrongs to women and children and the aged, the dislocation of the whole social machinery, the deadly monotony of the years of recovery, the deadly fear of fresh and too frequent recurrences of red-bloodedness. There are some red-blooded men who seek relief in the prize ring, or who secure a high-powered car and a gun. There is this obvious advantage about their methods, that they can choose their victims on some intelligible principle, and limit the field of their activities. An educational campaign might even persuade society to make provision for the red-blooded, who are constrained to

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answer this deep call of nature. Compounds could be provided, in which they might satisfy their appetite for slaughter. The healthy diffidence about shedding the blood of one's own kin could be met by providing that the red-blooded of different races, within the same nation, should meet in combat. The cost involved would be negligible when compared with the cost of war; and those who are not red-blooded could follow undisturbed their normal avocations—tilling the soil, feeding the race, discovering the secrets of nature, exploring the seven seas, and what not.

But is it true that war is a necessary outlet for some passion in ordinary men? Is it true that men are restless and unhappy for some periodical orgy of blood-letting? It is not true. What is true is that there is in man a "magazine of passion," coming down to us from the distant past, which all men normally use

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up in the current work of living, upon which the more reflective and controlled can draw intelligently for constructive enterprises. But this magazine of passion can be set off in explosions that comprehend no end whatever, or drawn upon for destructive and distasteful ends, in proportion as its possessor is ignorant or unreflective or enslaved, or those who use him are persuasive or unscrupulous or powerful. The *direction* of his activity in exceptional situations is not indicative of the nature of his primitive passions; that is determined by education and necessity. When the great modern democracies conclude that war is folly and have made themselves masters of their fate, there will be found no primal passion to drive them into bloodshed.

We return to reality in the admission that foremost among the ultimate causes of war is economic imperialism. "The Congress of Berlin, 1878, closed a chap-

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ter of European history. From that date the relations between European nations were less affected by questions arising in Europe itself than by the struggle carried on outside of Europe for the possession of colonies and markets.”<sup>32</sup>

Most of the wars of these forty years have been incidents in the struggle for colonies and spheres of influence, for raw materials and markets. This is the view of such conservative statesmen as Senator Lodge,<sup>33</sup> and such eminent economists as Professor E. R. A. Seligman.<sup>34</sup> President Wilson, in his famous St. Louis speech, described the Great War as a commercial war. This at least is true, that the ultimate cause of the war, in so far as Germany was responsible for it, was that she achieved her national unity

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<sup>32</sup>Professor Achille Viallate, *Economic Imperialism and International Relations During the Last Fifty Years*, p. 19.

<sup>33</sup>Congressional Record, Jan. 7, 1901.

<sup>34</sup>*Problems of Readjustment*, Appleton, 1915, p. 43.

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too late to participate advantageously in the grab for Africa and Asia. Her desire for commercial expansion in the East brought her into conflict with Britain and Russia; her desire for colonial expansion in Africa brought her into conflict with Britain and France.

Oil and coal, rubber and cotton and minerals, privately owned at the ends of the earth, are defended by national governments with the whole diplomatic and military resources of their peoples. Why will peoples go to war with each other about such things? It is demonstrable that all this wealth does little for the well-being of the masses in either the countries exploited or the countries exploiting. No imperialism has been more evidently beneficent than that of Britain in India; yet a chief cause of bitterness, among Indians of western education, is that, of the vast riches drawn from India, so little returns to bless the life of

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India itself. And the masses of Britain have been hardly more blessed. They are less contented, because less happy and wholesome and enlightened, than the masses of Switzerland and Holland, of Denmark and Norway, which have had no part in this grab. Why will peoples go to war with each other about such things?

Peoples do not go to war about such things; governments and the groups that control governments do. Whatever are the real causes of wars, they are always presented to peoples as great moral issues. The breach of some international covenant, a threat against a friendly nation, a wrong to one's own nationals, an insult to the national honour—these are the causes to which peoples rally. They would rally with enthusiasm to the rescue of a stricken nation like Armenia; but they are never summoned to that crusade, because the interests of governing

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groups are not involved in the fate of Armenia.

This is not to say that the groups that plunge us into war do always work consciously to wicked ends. They have their lust for power, like other kings and mighty men, without foreseeing what may be the price of power. They delight to "play the game," without being intelligent always as to the ethics and the issues of the game. They love their country, without knowing what is for their country's good. The country that they love is the country of vast industries, of great social clubs and great game preserves. "Prosperity" to them is the undisturbed enjoyment of these things, not popular education or public health or happy homes. They are disturbed when the masses are not pleased with prosperity, and bewildered when each great international affair of honour is followed by a spirit of revolt against political and economic leadership.



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But the good intentions of the captains and kings of the economic realm do not justify us in committing ourselves to them, without inquiring whither their enterprises are leading mankind. And to get our bearings we need review the history of only one of the great commercial enterprises of this generation. The oil industry is, except for the automobile industry, the "infant prodigy of the industrial world." There was no oil industry in 1860; in 1900 the world production of oil was 150,000,000 barrels; in 1922 it was 850,000,000 barrels. John D. Rockefeller and a number of associates organized the Standard Oil Company in 1870, substituting for the old motto "Producers compete" the new motto "Producers unite." Standard Oil soon became one of the dictators of American public life; those who opposed it retired into private life. In 1911 the United States Supreme Court declared the Standard

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Oil Company a trust in restraint of trade, and ordered its dissolution into constituent companies. Ten years later the market value of the "Standard Oil Properties," as the constituent companies were now called, was thirty-five times greater than the capital value in 1911, and had reached 3,276,000,000 dollars. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, one of the Standard Oil Properties, has refineries in the Eastern States and Canada, in Peru and Mexico. It has its own ocean services and subsidiary companies in England and France, Belgium and Holland, Switzerland and Italy, Germany and Poland, and many other countries. Its organization covers the earth.

As early as 1910 certain political and economic leaders in Britain became disquieted about the future. The British Empire had been built upon coal. Because she had the coaling stations of the world, international commerce, over all

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the earth, moved by her grace. But men saw in 1910 that in the future the control of land and sea and air would depend on the control of oil; and Britain had no oil. A few men set silently and secretly to work; and soon the Shell Transport Company, the Royal Dutch Company, the Mexican Eagle Oil Company, were British companies, with oil concessions in Russia and Roumania, Egypt and the Dutch East Indies, Mexico and the United States. In March, 1920, Sir E. Mackay Edgar said in the *London Times*: "I should say that two-thirds of the improved fields of Central and South America are in British hands. . . The Shell group owns exclusively or controls interests in every important field in the world, including the United States. . . If their present curve of consumption is continued, Americans, in ten years, will be under the necessity of importing 500 million barrels of oil a year . . . and

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that means an annual payment of \$1,000,000,000 per annum, most, if not all of which, will find its way into British pockets."

The British Government very soon made the question of oil a national one. In the interest of the British navy, the power of the Crown was put behind the Burma Oil Co., and the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. After the Great War, oil intruded itself into the peace negotiations. The Genoa Conference "reeked with oil"; at Lausanne Lord Curzon said bluntly that the British Government would fight rather than leave Mosul; and differences arose in Asia Minor over the Chester Concession, under which American interests claimed valuable oil lands, which France claimed by right of an earlier concession and Britain claimed under a mandate of the League of Nations. If the clash between British and American interests in oil were a clash between Brit-

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ish and Russian interests in oil, that clash would alone be a sufficient reason for anticipating an early war.<sup>35</sup>

Why is it so? The oil resources of the world are adequate for its needs. If economic imperialists did not seek the exclusive control of oil areas, company police would be adequate for the protection of most areas, or at most international police, whose presence would not incite to war. But this would not suit the economic imperialists. They desire exclusive American, or British, or Russian control of oil; by which they mean control of oil by a few Americans, or British, or Russians. Without that control their lust for power would not be gratified, their chance for fabulous gain would be imperilled. And equally, common access to oil would not suit those govern-

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<sup>35</sup>The economic factors in the production of war may be studied in E. C. Eckel, *Coal, Iron and War*, Holt, 1920; H. N. Brailsford, *The War of Steel and Gold*, London, Bell, 1914; J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism*, New York, Pott, 1902.

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ments whose associates have exclusive control; for they would then share with other governments control of a decisive instrument of war.

And so we are on another treadmill of insanity. As with armaments, so with oil. We seek oil to win wars, and fight wars to win oil, in a never-ending cycle of folly and waste; and always in the name of some lofty moral interest. The time has come when beneficent industrialism, like beneficent missions, must find ways of commending itself to the nations it penetrates; for the rest, not monopoly but distribution of the raw materials of the earth is the work of honourable nations, as of good men. And if this is sought, it may be accomplished in the open and with good-will, not in secret and with armaments.

But another ultimate cause of war is the survival of the pagan belief in the efficacy of force for moral ends. Benja-

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min Kidd, in his *Science of Power*, calls it the "great pagan retrogression of society." It ought not to be difficult to persuade a genuinely Christian society that force cannot of itself accomplish any good thing. Not only is there in it no educative or redemptive efficacy; it accredits neither the cause nor the man. Mediæval society approved the trial by combat, because it thought God intervened for the better cause. Its naïve faith has now developed into the cynicism that "God is on the side of the big battalions." Victory in war helps not at all, either in discovering the real merits of the cause or in establishing the right. If we are to appeal to violence, God will not save us from the survival of our Jack Johnsons and Jack Dempseys.

If anything were needed to demonstrate that victory does not wait on right, it is abundantly supplied by the Great War. It is of course true, and has al-



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ways been true, that men fight better for what they believe to be right. But all sides were doing that in the recent war, and have since the days of Hannibal, and before. There was nothing to choose, in 1914-1918, between German valour and Allied valour. Our veterans are the first to affirm that. But there were vast differences in human reserves at last, in accessibility to food, in mobility, and what not. The Germans, for instance, had abundant coal but little oil. Where railways therefore could not bear them, German armies walked, while Allied armies moved in motor lorries. Nevertheless, on the eve of the Spring Campaign of 1918 France was threatened with a famine of oil, and M. Clemenceau appealed to President Wilson. "Upon the orders of the latter . . . the War Service Committee, consisting of the great heads of the American industry, immediately placed all the required tankers at the disposal

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of France. Thanks to the reserves thus built up, at the time of the great German push in Picardy, Marshall Foch was able to bring up heavy reinforcements in motor lorries and fill the gaps where the British front had been broken. . . It has been well said that 'the victory of the Allies was the victory of the lorry over the locomotive.'<sup>36</sup> Ten days after the signing of the Armistice Lord Curzon said, at a dinner to the Inter-Allied Petroleum Council: "The Allies floated to victory on a wave of oil." But what has accessibility to oil to do with those questions of right, for which the war was ostensibly fought?

Within nations we witness the daily rejection of force. In most areas of our common life it is now recognized that the measure in which one must appeal to force is the measure in which one fails. The utmost force can do, with profit to

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<sup>36</sup>Frances Delaisi, *Oil*, p. 29.

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mankind, is to hold the ring against the irruption of violence from without, while worthy principles compete within, by worthy means, for worthy ends. What prevents the extension of this principle to the international arena, except the persistence there of dark designs? Who can confidently say that if one great nation or two, would say: We shall henceforth seek no ends that cannot bear the light; we shall in council prove our cause a righteous cause or abandon it; come, let us together police the world against violence—who can say that the era of war would not end?

Related to this confidence in the efficacy of force is the belief in war as a school of virtue. M. Ernest Renan wrote in 1871, with the Franco-Prussian War vividly in mind: “If the foolishness, negligence, idleness, and short-sightedness of States did not involve their occasional collision, it is difficult to imagine

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the degree of degeneracy to which the human race would descend. War is one of the conditions of progress, the sting which prevents a country from going to sleep, and compels satisfied mediocrity itself to awaken from its apathy . . . The day that humanity achieves a great pacific Roman Empire, having no external enemies, that day its morality and its intelligence will be placed in the very greatest peril.”<sup>37</sup> Professor Baron Karl von Stengel, a German delegate to the first Hague Peace Conference, devoted one chapter of a volume to the “Significance of War for the Development of Humanity.”<sup>38</sup> In it he says: “Storm purifies the air and destroys the frail trees, leaving the sturdy oaks standing. War is the test of a nation’s political, physical, and intellectual worth.” President Roosevelt, himself an appealing embodi-

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<sup>37</sup>*La Réforme Intellectuelle et Morale*, p. 111.

<sup>38</sup>In his book *Welstadt und Friedensproblem*.

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ment of those manly qualities that men admire, said, on a visit to England in 1910: "We despise a nation just as we despise a man who submits to insult. What is true of a man ought to be true of a nation. We must play a great part in the world and especially . . . perform those deeds of blood, of valour, which above everything else bring national renown. We do not admire a man of timid peace. By war alone can we acquire those virile qualities necessary to win in the stern strife of actual life."<sup>39</sup>

All this was written before the Great War. One wonders whether these men would now revise their judgment. Many have done so, and the belief in war as a school of virtue has survived only with difficulty. But it will recover vigour in time, at least among professional soldiers; and already it has exponents, though of less repute than Renan and

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<sup>39</sup>Speech at Stationers' Hall, June 6, 1910.

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von Stengel and Roosevelt.<sup>40</sup> It is well therefore that the case for war, as these men have stated it, should be examined.

This then is the case: It is seriously maintained that man's virile qualities—his courage and tenacity, his hardihood and heroism are an inheritance from war, to be transmitted unimpaired through war; that nations wax or wane, as they embrace or refuse the vocation of war. So that the question of war is one, not of mere human perversity but of profound biological laws. The combative tendency is one with the self-protective instinct; war is a part of the struggle to survive and victory is the survival of the fittest.

But if this is true, several things follow, and chiefly these: *First*: War, to accomplish its beneficent work, must be

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<sup>40</sup>Its most doughty exponent in our Empire is Col. J. F. G. Fuller, of whom we have spoken; but another is General Sir Reginald Hart, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.V.D., whose incoherent article "On the Possibility of Another Great War," was for some reason admitted to the Hibbert Journal, Oct., 1924.

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of sufficient frequency, and it must be of sufficient magnitude to really engage the nation;

*Second:* Among the nations, those that have most faithfully maintained the military tradition and habit will most clearly manifest the fruits of its sturdy discipline;

*Third:* Within the nation, the stern virtues that make for immortality will be found chiefly among those that live by war.

Can these necessary conditions be fulfilled? Are these legitimate inferences verified in past history and present experience?

Clearly the virtues accruing from war must be often renewed, if they are not to be lost. In the view of Renan and von Stengel and Roosevelt, it is of the essence of the matter that a nation cannot live by the exploits of its ancestors; it must bear in its own body the wounds



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that they bore. Can the great succession be sustained on less than one war in each generation, and can that one be anything less than a first-class war? A duel is not a war; a joust is not "a great medicine, a great purge," to a nation. A little adventure in Spanish-America or the Philippines is hardly a morning constitutional to a great nation. Too few men are engaged, too little glory acquired. If war is to do its invigorating work on a national scale, it must be a real war. Can we survive enough real wars to enjoy the virtue they nourish? The pains of recovery from the Great War are threatening the stability of government in even the victorious States. The perils of anarchy seem just round the corner at times. Certainly that social cohesion, which is necessary to the permanence of States, is everywhere weakened by the recent exercise in virtue. This generation, itself made vir-

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tuous by war, is hot at the cost of its schooling and unwilling to counsel a like education for its children. Can nations now march on to virtue, on a highway so costly of maintenance?

And if it were granted that nations can travel this highway indefinitely, is there adequate hope of reward? Does history justify the faith that those nations that most faithfully maintain the military tradition and habit will most manifestly reap the reward of its sturdy discipline? On this continent the nations that have most faithfully observed the military tradition are the little Spanish-American Republics, like Nicaragua and Costa Rica and Colombia. Some of them have had a war every year since they became independent of Spain, and when they do not fight each other they bring on a civil war. Every election is a fight, every President a doughty warrior. Only less warlike are Mexico

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and Argentina; they do have lapses into peace. Less warlike still is the United States, and least of all is Canada. Is this a descending scale of national greatness, a diminishing candidature for national permanence?

Or take the situation in the Old World, Arabia and Morocco, Albania and Montenegro, Greece and Turkey, have seen a deal of fighting in fifty years. They have faithfully submitted their differences to the manly arbitrament of the sword. And they have not lacked courage. The Turks are great fighters. The Dervishes, when Kitchener fought to Khartoum, were peerless in courage, poor only in equipment. A correspondent with the British forces said of their last stand: "And the Dervishes—The honour of the fight must still go with the men who died. Our men were perfect, but the Dervishes were superb—beyond perfection. It was their largest, best and

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bravest army that ever fought against us for Mahdism, and it died worthily of the huge empire that Mahdism won and kept so long. Their riflemen, mangled by every kind of death and torment that man can devise, clung round the black flag and the green, emptying their poor rotten home-made cartridges dauntlessly. Their spearmen charged death every minute hopelessly. Their horsemen led each attack, riding into the bullets till nothing was left." (Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartoum*). There is nothing finer in the history of warfare than this. What theme for heroic literature in the schools of future Dervish children—when they have schools!

These are the most military peoples of the Old World; and they are followed, in diminishing glory, by Serbia and Bulgaria, Russia and France, Germany and Great Britain, Holland and Scandinavia. Is this also a descending scale of national

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greatness and permanence? Would Canada and the United States do wisely to renew their vigour from the fighting stocks of the South and East, to discourage the immigration of the more pacific French and Germans and British, the most pacific Dutch and Scandinavians?

No, it cannot be shown that national greatness and permanence are the rewards of fidelity to the military tradition and habit. It is a strange reading of Roman history that Mr. Roosevelt gave at the University of Berlin in 1910—"The Roman civilization went down primarily because the Roman citizen would not fight, because Rome had lost the fighting edge."<sup>41</sup> Rome died because the fruits of conquest had been too long a substitute for the fruits of honest toil; and such stability as the British Empire has, by comparison with the empires of Spain

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<sup>41</sup>Reported in the *London Times*, May 13, 1910.

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and France, derives from this—that the methods of Spain and France were military, while those of Great Britain are industrial and peaceful. The soldier has been replaced as speedily as might be by the settler and the trader; military parasitism has given place to industrial co-operation.

But if a military nation is not therefore an enduring nation, it may nevertheless be that what is strong within the nation is to be found in its warrior class, that the nation does not benefit because it is unworthy of its soldiers. Are the stern virtues that make for immortality to be found among those in the nation who live by war? It is a question difficult to answer, if one's knowledge of standing armies has been acquired on this continent. We have practically no experience of professional soldiers. So many as we have are not far removed from our common life. Their virtues and

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vices are those that are common to man. Our armies in the recent war were citizen armies and carried into the war the characters they had in peace. But the Dreyfus case in France, the Kotze scandal in Germany, the revelations of Maximilien Harden, would indicate that the virtues that make for social stability live precariously in professional armies. Englishmen who know have confessed that this is true of the British army. Mr. Blatchford, an advocate of conscription, yet says: "Barrack life is bad. Barrack life will always be bad. It is never good for a lot of men to live together apart from home influence and feminine. . . I am no Puritan. I am a man of the world; but any sensible and honest man who has been in the Army will know at once that what I am saying is entirely true, and is the truth expressed with much restraint and moderation. . . The language of the barrack-room shocked me, appalled me,

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I could not understand half I heard; I could not credit much that I saw. . . I learnt the facts, but I must not tell them.”<sup>42</sup> This testimony does not stand alone; it is confirmed by many competent witnesses.<sup>43</sup>

What truth is there in all this talk of war as “a great medicine, a great purge”; of the survival of the fittest through war? None at all. The wars of our fathers were not what war now is. If anything can be said for them, let it be said. War is now an unmitigated curse, and the greater the war the greater the curse. The sterling qualities by which States endure, and which enabled most men to live uncorrupted through the Great War, were nourished in peace. Colonel Roosevelt acquired, in the long struggle for health in his youth, in the long discipline of professional and public life, the quali-

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<sup>42</sup>*My Life in the Army*, p. 119.

<sup>43</sup>See especially Montague, *Disenchantment*, pp. 14-25.

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ties that enabled him to keep his soul alive in war also. The citizen soldiers who rushed to arms throughout the Anglo-Saxon world in 1914 soon learned the rules of the new game, and then proved themselves as courageous and more intelligent than men bred to arms. The war was won with the moral resources acquired in peace, in so far as it was won with moral resources at all.

The biological argument for war is a palpable falsehood. There is of course a struggle for existence, and a fitness that secures survival; but it is not of the nature of things that that struggle should be against one's fellowman, and that his destruction should be the price of one's survival. It is not by devouring each other that even tigers survive; it is by mastery of the environment common to tigers. It is not by killing one's fellows that man survives; it is by co-operative mastery of that natural environment in

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which man's life is to be lived. It is not by international conflict that nations survive; it is by mastery of nature, by advancement in the arts of peace.

Meanwhile the children of the world are still being educated for war, until childish misconceptions become another cause of future conflict. The nature of life in the army is misrepresented in the literature of recruiting. There it is a life of smart uniforms and elastic vigour, of marching hosts with stirring drums, of valorous deeds and popular applause, as care free in peace as the life of the sparrows. Life in barracks is not depicted in army posters. Prospective soldiers are not told that military life has nothing at all to offer to youth of character and capacity, except to those few who can purchase, by education and influence, exemption from its normal duties and discipline. The nature of war is similarly misrepresented in war mem-

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orials, in art, in the text-books of the schools. In war memorials, the soldier is always a seer, led by the angels on wonderful quests, carried by the angels to realms of bliss; there is nothing to suggest the vermin and filth of the trenches, the horrors of the charge, the nervous demoralization, the dethronement of reason, the doubt of the soldier that any good can emerge from the conflict.

The causes of war are misrepresented. The case for one's own nation has to be palpably bad, to be admitted as even doubtful. One's nation is occasionally ill-advised in its wars, but never wicked, in text-books. Histories are frankly Canadian or American, English or French, German or Italian; and they tell six stories of the same event, and no two consistent. There is no history of mankind for the children. In some lands in Europe the children are being taught a

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history of recent years, deliberately written to perpetuate hate.

The overcoming of all these causes of war is a herculean task, an almost hopeless task. And yet another cause remains—the despair of finding a substitute. Even wise men, who love their children, in despair of the slower process of discovering and applying right discipline, turn from reason to the rod. It brings speedy results; it does effect order, in which the business of life can proceed. To what shall one turn in the vast, unequal, inchoate family of mankind? In the past we have turned to war. In the future it will be too costly, too revolting to the moral sense, too open a betrayal of all that mankind has learned to cherish, too prolific of the disorders it is meant to cure. But what shall we substitute?

If the Christian Church preserves any

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of that faith which gives substance to things' hoped for, she will not despair of finding a better way. The Labour forces of the world, and national organizations of women, are massing against war. Chambers of Commerce and War Veterans' Associations, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the World's Student Christian Federation, have declared against war. No other institution than the Church is so bound by her principles and pretensions, and so equipped with knowledge and opportunity, to enlighten and lead society on this most momentous of all public questions.

And so we return to the proposition with which we began—that the Christian Church ought to concert measures for the education of the whole Christian community as to the causes and methods and results of war. She can tear away the mask from the hideous face of war, and

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show it to be what it is. She can show that, whatever be the sounding calls that rally men to war, the real causes are national fears and hatreds, militarism and secret scheming, national and individual greed. She can show that the triumph of force cannot establish the right, and that war debases those who appeal to it, even in the name of right. She can show that the methods of war are blood lust and organized campaigns of lies; that its supreme law is expediency, even at the expense of personal honour and collective covenants. She can show that the results of war are economic and moral impoverishment for all the sons of men. She can defend the children against an inheritance of hate and lies, and mankind against the despair of finding a better way. She can indispose the minds of men to war.



## CHAPTER VII.

# While the Education of the Public Concerning War is Proceeding there are other Immediate Christian Duties

"Every land is my fatherland,  
For all lands are my Father's."

—Edmund Ludlow.

"We are inhabitants of two worlds, and owe a double, but not a divided allegiance. In virtue of our clay, this little ball of earth exacts a certain loyalty of us, while, in our capacity as spirits, we are admitted citizens of an invisible and holier fatherland. There is a patriotism of the soul whose claim absolves us from our other and terrene fealty. Our true country is that ideal realm which we represent to ourselves under the names of religion, duty, and the like. Our terrestrial organizations are but far-off approaches to so fair a model, and all they are verily traitors who resist not any

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attempt to divert them from their original intentment. When, therefore, one would have us to fling up our caps and shout with the multitude, "Our country, however bounded!" he demands of us that we sacrifice the larger to the less, the higher to the lower, and that we yield to the imaginary claims of a few acres of soil our duty and privilege as liegemen of Truth."—James Russell Lowell.

THE time is short, the peril great. Other duties press, even while the work of educating the public concerning war is going forward. Christian men and institutions ought without delay to oppose such social, political and economic policies, in their respective nations, as tend to war. They can protest against the introduction into the schools of such literature, such works of art, such exercises, as glorify war and encourage national or racial prejudices. They can place in their homes and public libraries such literature for children as will familiarize them with child life in other lands and create in them wide sympathies and

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understanding.<sup>1</sup> They can urge that immigration laws be framed and administered without offence to other nations. They can arouse the chemists and physicists to shame that their knowledge of nature should be made available for the devastation of nature and the destruction of mankind. They can arouse the public conscience against the economic imperialism that would control the natural wealth of the world for a nation or a group, that would exploit uneducated peoples, or pacific peoples, or defenceless peoples, for the enrichment of an alien few. The masses atone with their blood in war for these sins of their classes, and children's children die for the greed that neither served, nor sought to serve, even their own fathers' good.

Equally important, and capable of speedy achievement, is the extension of

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<sup>1</sup>Such books are *Heidi*, *Cornelli*, and the other works of Frau Johanna Spyri; not to speak of *Hans Brinker*, *Jean Paul and His Trained Mice*, and many other works.

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political democracy, until there can be no decision of the State on the question of war that is not the decision of the Nation itself. It is quite true that some ends cannot be attained except by secret diplomacy, but what is the legitimate inference? Honourable individuals renounce such ends. With them it is axiomatic that they should acquire another's good by giving an equivalent good, and that openly and by agreement. Corporations are less scrupulous, and States have no scruples at all. To dispense with secret diplomacy one need only renounce unworthy ends. When no State can commit a Nation, when nations speak to nations, we shall see the beginning of the end of war. First steps toward such a goal are constitutional provisions for the examination when desired of all files of Foreign Offices by representative committees of Parliament, progressive reports to Parliament of all negotiations

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with foreign Powers, the publication in full of all proposed treaties and understandings, a referendum on vital issues of foreign policy.

For the accomplishment of just such ends there is already in Great Britain The Union of Democratic Control, which "endeavours to create and maintain among the peoples an interest in Foreign Affairs and desires to promote the widest possible international relations of friendship and co-operation." The Union therefore works for democratic control of foreign policies—"No Treaty, arrangement, or undertaking shall be entered upon without the sanction of Parliament. Adequate machinery for ensuring democratic control of foreign policy shall be created."

Meanwhile men and women of good will, who genuinely believe that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth,"

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ought to make themselves known to those of like mind in other nations. There are already in existence associations through which internationalism can be fostered and turned to the ends of peace. There is a World Alliance for the Promotion of International Friendship through the Churches, with Councils in more than a score of nations. The British Council seeks to draw to itself all Christian Congregations in Britain, and to pledge them to a solemn annual consecration to the cause of peace. There is also a War-Resisters International, the British section of which is known as the No More War Movement, and whose members are individually pledged to refuse participation in future conflicts. The War-Resisters International has affiliations in more than twenty countries, is carrying on a campaign through the Labour Movement, the Press, and the Churches, and has inspired No More War Demonstrations in many lands.

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Another movement is the Fellowship of Reconciliation, established in 1914, and with a growing membership in Europe, America, and the Orient. Its reliance is on the labour of individuals and groups in the respective nations, who seek to exemplify in their own lives the spirit of loving service, and who take no part therefore in war. They have met in International Conferences, have carried on relief work among the victims of war in Europe and Armenia, and have laboured for Franco-German understanding.

But the social areas within which internationalism is already most firmly established are those occupied by the students of the world and the Labour forces. The World's Student Christian Federation, to which are affiliated Student Christian Movements in forty countries, is labouring to understand the international implications of the Gospel.



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It is publishing books and forming study-groups, to discover the causes of war and the solution of inter-racial problems. The eleventh General Conference of the Federation, meeting in Peking in 1922, issued the following call to the Christian students of the world:

“We, representing Christian students from all parts of the world, believe in the fundamental equality of all races and nations of mankind and consider it as part of our Christian vocation to express this reality in all our relationships.

“We consider it our absolute duty to do all in our power to fight the causes leading to war, and war itself as a means of settling international disputes. . . We desire that the different National Movements of the Federation should face fearlessly

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and frankly in the light of Jesus' teachings the whole question of war, and of those social and economic forces which tend to issue in war."

As for the Labour Movement, it long ago discovered that there is a community of interest, binding together all the toilers of the world. This sense of common interests, confused for a time by the World War, is manifesting itself again in concerted action to defeat the schemes of economic and political imperialism. The International Federation of Trade Unions, representing twenty-four millions of workers, meeting at Rome in April, 1922, declared it to be "the task of the organized workers to counteract all wars which may threaten to break out in the future by every means at the disposal of the labour movement and, if need be, to prevent the actual outbreak of such wars by proclaiming and carrying

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out a general international strike." The International Association of Machinists, meeting at Rochester in 1922, moved to secure united action against war, by "the world's artisans who fashion steel and iron into armaments and munitions of war." The leading engineering societies of England have formed an Engineering Joint Council to work with the engineers of other countries to secure concerted action for world peace.

We have not spoken of the Society of Friends, which from the beginning of its history has been an enemy to war, and whose members in great numbers endured imprisonment as conscientious objectors during the recent war. Nor have we spoken of the association of veterans of the Allied armies (Federation Interallies des Anciens Combattants) which, at its third annual conference, at New Orleans in 1922, called for an international court to outlaw war, and for total disarmament

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as soon as possible thereafter, with the destruction of the implements of warfare. But we have sufficiently indicated that there are already many others to whom Christian men and institutions may give, from whom Christian men and institutions may receive, fellowship and support in their spiritual warfare against war.

And for such a warfare what better can Christian men and institutions do than rally promptly to the support of such existing institutions as aim to substitute international courts for national courts, and the international conscience for national sentiment, in the settlement of international disputes? Such institutions do exist. They are not perfect, not more perfect than national and provincial and municipal institutions within our several nations; but they do exist, and need not therefore be created, and they are capable of amendment. Time is

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precious. So many men as really agree that national causes, like other causes, ought to be determined by appeal to judicial process may very well familiarize themselves without delay with existing institutions of internationalism, that they may know how to commend them, how to create a public disposition to appeal to them. In Great Britain the Union of Democratic Control includes among its aims the improvement of the constitution of the League of Nations and the inclusion within the League of all peoples; and the League of Nations Union is working to commend the League to the British public, while preparing also, for presentation to the League, such questions as only it can handle. There is in Canada a League of Nations Society, with similar aims. It would seem to be the duty of Christian men and institutions everywhere to know and support existing instruments of peace.

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First among such instruments, in point of time, is the Hague Tribunal, which had already made many contributions to international peace before the Great War. But the Tribunal is not a permanent world-court, with authority to command a hearing and enforce its decisions. It is but a panel of judges, from which disputing nations may, if disposed, choose arbitrators.

A permanent world-court does, however, exist in the Permanent Court of International Justice, which rose out of the ashes of the great war. The plan was formulated by a group of eminent jurists, sitting by invitation of the Council of the League of Nations, and was amended and adopted by the Assembly of the League in 1920. The Court is recognized by thirty-one nations, including Great Britain and France, Italy and Japan, Canada and the other British Dominions. The jurisdiction of the Court is

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further recognized as *obligatory* by eighteen nations, including Holland and Denmark, Norway and Sweden, Bulgaria and Switzerland and Portugal, and notably China. It is not recognized as obligatory by any of the so-called Great Nations, nor by the British Dominions. The Court is hampered by the lack of an adequate code of international law, and by its inability to provide legal relief to any nation which may appeal against one of the Great Powers, except in so far as that Power may choose to concur in the appeal and accept the decision.

For international legislation and administration we have already a "Parliament of Men" in the League of Nations. It also rose out of the ashes of the Great War. The Covenant of the League of Nations was made an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles. Its membership includes more than fifty nations, but not the United States, or Russia.



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The Assembly of the League meets annually; the Council of the League meets more frequently and can gather quickly, whenever international peace is threatened. Connected with the League is an International Labour Organization, with a Labour Office at Geneva and a permanent secretariat. The Organization meets annually, and is composed of four representatives from each nation of the League, two representatives being appointed by the Government and one each by the employers' and labour organizations of the respective nations.

Born when every racial prejudice was aggravated and every human passion inflamed, rejected by the United States and flouted by powerful friends that still put force above the moral judgment of mankind, the League of Nations has yet helped to prevent several wars, to rehabilitate stricken Austria, to focus the moral energy of mankind against flagrant

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international evils, to advance open and honourable diplomacy by the registration and publication of treaties. The League of Nations is already the one greatest hope of the small, and otherwise defenceless, nations of the world. What greater service can Christian men and institutions render, in the so-called Great Nations of the world, than the creation of intelligent public opinion, exerting pressure upon Governments to respect and strengthen the League, to submit to it all international issues, and thereby to declare that powerful peoples no longer wish to be above the law? One by one the family, the tribe, the city, the feudal lord, the several German States, the States of the American Union, the Provinces of Canada, and what not, have been compelled or constrained to abandon "sovereign rights" for a wider union and a larger good. Who are so bound as Christian men to set the rights of man-

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kind above the prerogatives of national sovereignty, and to maintain that no nation, not even their own, shall ignore the moral judgments of the race?

Such Christian bodies as believe that war is the denial of everything for which Christianity stands cannot too soon make all Governments aware that they can never bless another war, that they can never again devote their religious establishments to the ends of war, that those who carry from them to warring armies the consolations of religion cannot become part of the general equipment of armies for war. It must be known that Christian chaplains on the battlefield are there as men who have no part in war, like physicians in a plague; that they are required by their principles, and disposed by their spirit, to serve enemy soldiers as readily as their own. Their labour must be a labour of love, that does not compromise their protest

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against war. If Governments and armies will not accept them on these terms, let them still be true.

Long ago some Christian bodies, like the Waldenses and the Society of Friends, renounced war. They are not less but more efficient now in good for their refusal. The detachment of all Churches from war cannot now come soon enough to save their honour, but it will powerfully dispose all Governments to peace and make so much atonement for the past. As for such wars as come, where arbitration has not been sought or the decision of the arbitrators has been refused, let the Churches make all Government aware that they must oppose such conflicts with all the spiritual resources at their command.

Before we reach such a consummation, the question of participation in war may already have become pressing, immediate, for many Christian individuals

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and Christian groups. All wise men, not to say good men, must hope that it will not be so, that war, as distinct from international police action, may never come again, at least among the Great Nations of the Christian world. But the future is doubtful, and wise men, not to say good men, will not act as if peace were already secured. If war should come, we must not again be taken un-awares, held by conventional views, bound by traditional loyalties.

“Because you would not think, we had to die!”

What shall Christian men do in the immediate presence of war?

If one except those appeals to armed force, which may sometimes be necessary still to enforce judicial decisions and which are rightly described as police action, we who make this appeal cannot conceive any future war in which Christian men can participate. They will not

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again be able to plead ignorance, or to suspend judgment, or to leave to others the determination of their duty. The materials for an intelligent judgment of war are now available. Men may now know how wars come, how they are fought, how they end, how divorced from right they are. Because of this new knowledge there are, in the War-Resisters International and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, international fraternities that have renounced all wars. "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind."

If some men and women should have to stand alone in their resistance to war, let them remember that the "City of Mansoul" has but one citizen, and that in the day of destiny it rests with him alone to keep its walls intact, even in the midst of general dissolution. Let them remember too that by suffering for their cause they will accredit it. Those who think

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out the great human issues in advance of mankind, and endure the reproach of dissent, help to clarify the thoughts of others and thus become creative factors in progress. Being lifted up from the earth, they draw others unto them.





